



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

TX 478.61 .L788w

Livy.

Livy, Books I., XXI., and XXII. /

**Stanford University Libraries**

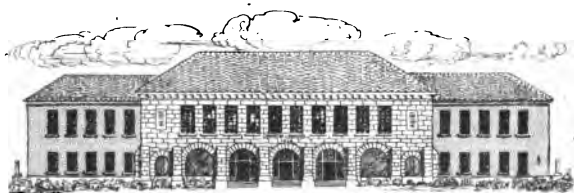


**3 6105 04927 0213**

Kings of Rome.

Mar 24

Pa  
29  
7



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION  
LIBRARY

TEXTBOOK  
COLLECTION



STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARIES

TITI LIVI  
*LIBRI I., XXI., XXII.*

---

**LIVY**  
BOOKS I., XXI., AND XXII.

*With Introduction and Notes*

BY

JOHN HOWELL WESTCOTT, PH.D.  
MUSGRAVE PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

ALLYN AND BACON  
Boston and Chicago



597589

C

*Copyright, 1890,*

BY ALLYN AND BACON.

Norwood Press :

Berwick & Smith, Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

TO

PROFESSOR WILLIAM A. PACKARD,

WITH GRATEFUL AFFECTION.



## P R E F A C E.

---

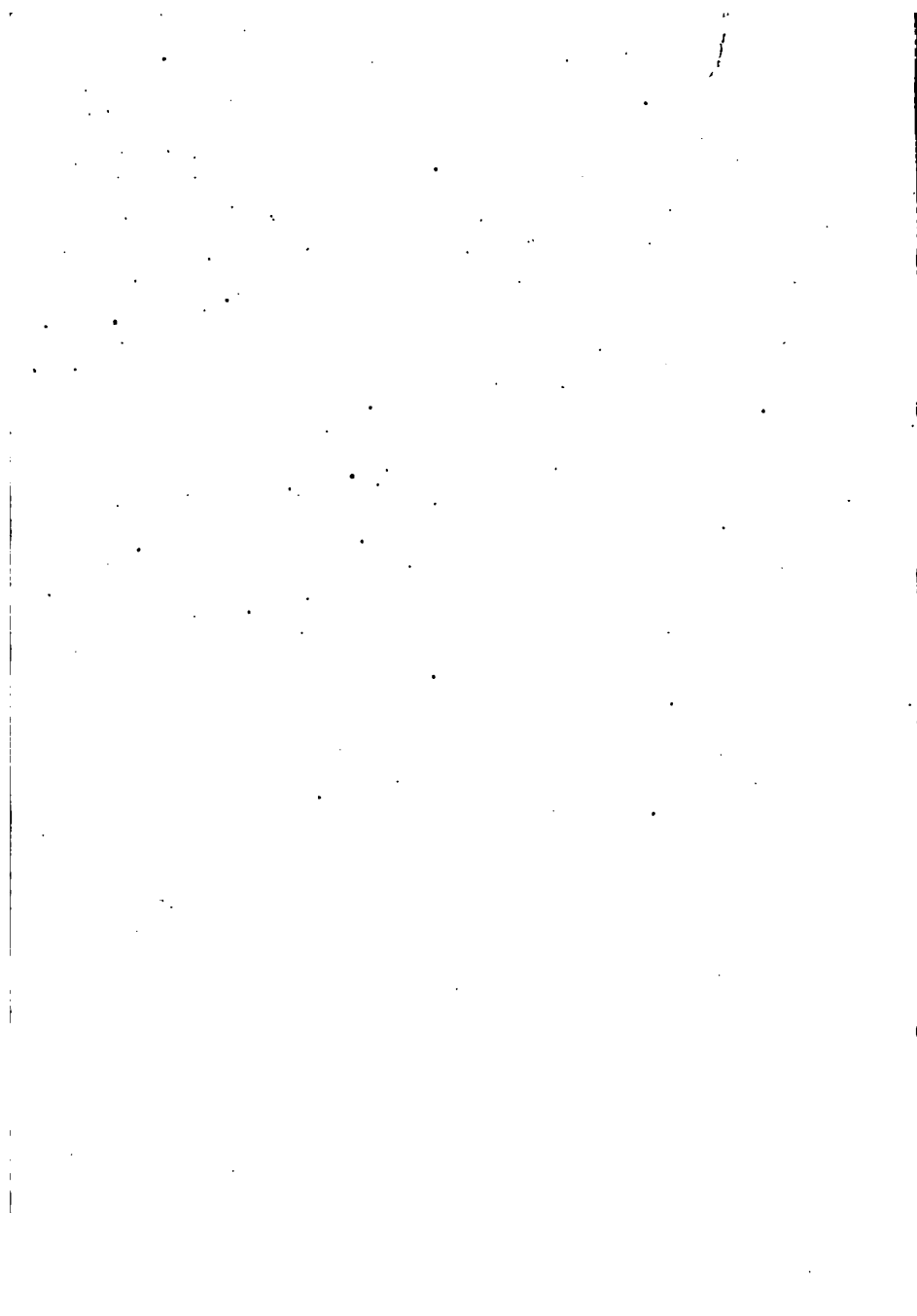
THIS volume is an attempt to present in simple and convenient form the assistance needed by young students making their first acquaintance with Livy. Much has been stated that would seem unnecessary, had not the editor's experience in the class-room shown him the contrary. On the other hand, that fulness of illustration which apparently aims to supersede the function of the teacher has been carefully avoided.

The text is that of Weissenborn (*cura* H. J. Müller), Weidmann, Berlin; a very few changes are mentioned in the notes as they occur. To that edition the present editor acknowledges his chief indebtedness in the preparation of the Introduction and Notes, though he has also availed himself freely of the assistance of other books and editors, especially those cited at the end of the introduction.

There has been no attempt to make the orthography absolutely uniform, or to adopt always the so-called "classical" spelling. Such an orthography represents a state of things which never existed in ancient times; and the very variety of spelling should be instructive to the student who has progressed far enough to read Livy.

The selection of the three books contained in this volume is not merely sanctioned by long usage, but rests upon good reason. Book I. forms a unit by itself, a "prose epic," dealing with the mythical age of the Roman kings, while Books XXI. and XXII. not only exhibit the author's style in its mature perfection, but also deal with the most thrilling and momentous crisis of the Roman republic.

PRINCETON, N. J., November, 1890.



Sept 15, 1904

## INTRODUCTION..

THE life of the Romans was intensely practical. War and politics were their national pursuits, and during the earlier centuries of the republic their exclusive pursuits. It was therefore natural that the nation's best days were over before the national literature fairly began ; natural, likewise, that when at last literature did begin its career, history was one of the earliest departments to be cultivated. Late development of Roman literature.

It is not to be understood that there were no records before this time. Soon after the establishment of the republic the chief pontiffs began to keep official records, called the *Annales Maximi*, containing a list of the magistrates, the prodigies, and the chief events of each year, all expressed in the briefest manner. They were annually exposed to public view on a white tablet in front of the pontiff's official residence, and when finally collected and published, formed eighty books. But the pontiff's house with all its archives had perished in the burning of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B. C., so that the statements about the earlier period must have been restored from memory. The *libri lintei*, "linen books," were lists of magistrates earlier than 390 B. C., preserved in the temple of Juno Moneta in the Capitol, which had survived the catastrophe that overwhelmed the rest of the city. The earliest records.

Inscriptions, which form so extensive a portion of the memorials of later times, were very scanty in the period prior to the development of literature.

The family records and traditions of noble houses doubtless constituted an important element in the formation of the national history, and a still more important element were the oral traditions of the people and the metrical lays, whereby they half unconsciously preserved from age to age the legends of the olden time.

About two hundred years B. C., the earliest poets, Naevius  
Historical poetry. and Ennius, treated themes taken from the national history in poetical form, the one dealing thus with the first Punic war, the other with the traditional period from Aeneas to his own age.

Soon after began the practice of writing prose annals,  
The Annalists. that is, histories in strictly chronological arrangement, with the events of each year placed by themselves. Nearly contemporary with Ennius was Q. Fabius  
Fabius Pictor. Pictor, the first annalist, whose grandfather had gained this curious surname by painting a battle picture in the temple of *Salus*, and who was himself a prominent public man at the time of the Hannibalic war.

After this war was over, he wrote in Greek an account of it, addressed to the educated among his own countrymen and to the Hellenic public, intended to offset the account given by Silenus, which he regarded as too favorable to the Carthaginians, intended also to glorify the achievements of his great kinsman, Fabius the Dictator. A general sketch of the national history constituted the introductory portion of this work, which was, upon the whole, of such a character that Fabius was not undeservedly called the father of Roman history. Livy highly respected him and often quoted his statements, but at second hand out of later annalists.

Contemporary with Fabius was L. Cincius Alimentus, who likewise wrote in Greek. Latin prose had not then been developed into a fit vehicle of literary expression. Cincius Alimentus. This writer was a patrician, was praetor in 211 B. C., and having been taken prisoner by Hannibal, had exceptional opportunities to inform himself with regard to the facts of the second Punic war, which was the subject of the more detailed part of his work, though he also began at the foundation of Rome.

L. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 133 B. C., wrote *Annales*, from the earliest period to his own. He was the first to show a critical spirit, endeavoring to distinguish the historical from the mythical elements in the accounts of the earliest times. Piso.

Valerius Antias, a contemporary of Sulla, did more than any one else to falsify Roman history. His *Annales*, in at least seventy-five books, covered the whole extent of it down to his own time. Where the story seemed too bare and bald, he adorned it with the fictions of his own imagination. But his work was popular, and was much used as an authority by later writers. Livy, in his earlier books, was often led astray by him, and afterward speaks of him in strong terms of disapprobation. Valerius Antias.

The *Historiae* (in fourteen books) of Q. Aelius Tubero, the accuser of Ligarius, were highly praised by Dionysius for their accuracy. They extended from the landing of Aeneas to the civil war of Pompey and Caesar. Tubero.

These are the names of a few of the best known of the many annalists of the last two centuries of the republic, whose works are known to us by reports of other writers and in a few cases by small fragments of the originals.

Early in this period, however, M. Porcius Cato, the Censor, who had been the first to write history Anti-annalistic writers.



in Latin, also took the initiative in breaking away from the annalistic method. In his *Origines* he omitted Cato. the whole period for which the earlier annalists constituted the chief authority.

Some years later L. Coelius Antipater (after 120 B. C.) wrote his account of the second Punic war independently of the annalists. He was a man of great culture and learning, a friend of C. Gracchus and the younger Scipio and Laelius. Dissatisfied with previous accounts of the war, written entirely from the Roman point of view, in his desire for impartiality he was the first of the Romans to consult the history of Silenus, Hannibal's Greek historiographer, and to compare it with the accounts given by his own countrymen.

And this was not his only merit, for he tried also to introduce a better literary style, and made the innovation of inserting speeches into the course of his narrative, not merely to explain it, but also as a means of giving expression to his own reflections, and the supposed views of the actors in the story. Though there were other writers who decidedly opposed the annalistic method, yet it seems, on the whole, to have retained its popularity with both authors and readers.

Besides general histories, there were numerous biographies, memoirs, and monographs, dealing with the careers of individuals or with short periods or episodes in the career of the nation. In fact the catalogue of historical writers in the various departments is surprisingly long. Yet Cícero (De Leg. I. 5) laments "*Ahest historia litteris nostris*," for none of the histories that had then appeared were worthy as literature of a place beside the poetry and oratory that had reached so high a degree of perfection. And though Sallust and Caesar soon afterward published their works, which have been recognized

ever since as models of Latin prose, there was even then no great general history in Roman literature. The troublous times of the civil wars were not favorable to the conception and execution of such a work. The proper surroundings and inspiration were to come in the next generation, in the calm after the storm, in the peace and repose of the Augustan age. And when Cicero wrote the words there was a boy growing up to manhood who was to remove forever the cause of his complaint.

Titus Livius Patavinus was born in 59 B. C. at Patavium, now Padua, the ancient capital of the Venēti. The city, so tradition said, had been founded by Antēnor, the companion of Aeneas. At all events, it was proud of its Livy's birthplace. early relations with Rome, of which it had always been a staunch friend, and notably during the Hannibalic war. But as it lay for the most part "out of the way of wars and in the way of commerce," the city had grown populous and wealthy. In the time of Strabo (Livy's contemporary) it was one of the most important cities of the empire, having 500 citizens of equestrian census, ranking in this respect next to Capua and third in Italy. Yet with all this prosperity the inhabitants were celebrated for their antique virtue and pure morals. The town received Roman citizenship by the *lex Julia* in 49 B. C., and was incorporated into the Fabian tribe.

We do not know when Livy's family had settled at Patavium, but there is evidence that it was a noble family and in easy circumstances. Our author doubtless received the His family and education. education usual for young Romans of rank, and we know that he made a special study of rhetoric and philosophy. The time and circumstances of his removal to the capital are not known, but probably it occurred about the Life at Rome. time of the battle of Actium. While still a young man he was in high favor with Augustus, and a member of the

brilliant literary circle that was the chief ornament of his court. He seems to have enjoyed intimate friendship with the family of the Caesars, and even to have had apartments in the palace. He informs us that Augustus took a personal interest in the composition of his history, and perhaps his undertaking was largely due to the influence of the emperor, who had made an epic poet of Vergil almost in spite of himself.

Suetonius says it was by the advice of Livy that the young Claudius, afterward emperor, took to writing history. Yet Livy was too candid to be a flatterer, and it was not altogether a jest when Augustus called him a Pompeian; for, while admitting the great qualities of Julius Caesar, he openly questioned whether it would not have been better for the state if he had never been born.

— About Livy's private life we possess very few details. He had a son, and a daughter who married a rhetorician named L. Magius. He never held office or took any part in politics, but lived a life of scholarly quiet, steadily engaged upon the history that was his life work. We do not know whether his occasional absences from Rome were long continued or whether his residence there was permanent. He may have retired to spend his last years in his native town, for he died there in 17 A. D.

In 1413 some workmen making excavations at Padua, discovered a coffin which was thought to contain the bones of the historian, and the city erected a sumptuous tomb in his honor. But subsequent investigation showed that the first belief was erroneous.

Livy's earliest writings were philosophical and rhetorical. They have not been preserved. Whether he was actually a teacher of rhetoric is doubtful, but it is evident that he was a master of the art so highly prized by the Romans, and never more so than after free speech had become a thing of the past.

Scanty  
biographical  
details.

First works.

His great history extended from the landing of Aeneas in Latium to the death of Drusus in 9 B. C. The latter event is hardly important enough to form a fitting close to such a work, and it is possible that the author intended to continue it to the death of Augustus, and complete the round number of 150 books. In that case he would have reached the point where Tacitus' Annals begin.

Scope of his history.

Of the entire 142 books, there are extant, exclusive of small fragments of the 91st and 120th, but 35; viz., 1-10 and 21-45, and of these the 41st and 43d are incomplete. No more than these were extant in the Middle Ages, and as no trace of the lost books has been discovered since the seventh century, the often-excited, long-cherished hopes of finding them will probably never be realized. Tradition, probably with injustice, attributes this irreparable loss to Pope Gregory I. (590-604), who is said to have caused all the copies of Livy he could find to be burned on account of their antichristian character. The missing portions were not only far greater in quantity than what has been preserved, but they possessed greater historical value. By way of compensation we have only the meagre summaries, *periochae*, as they are called, written by a later hand, and commonly attributed to Florus, because they appear in the MSS. of his works. For some periods these are the only authority that we possess.

The extant books.

Disappearance of the others.

The work seems to have been begun about 27 B. C. (not earlier), when the historian was in his thirty-third year, and it was continued steadily through the rest of his life, more than forty years. The books must have been published in instalments; for the author enjoyed in his lifetime the most extensive fame, as appears from Pliny's story of the man who travelled from Gades to Rome for the sole purpose of seeing his face. But the division

Date of composition.

into decades, so convenient for purposes of reference, was in all probability not made by Livy himself, though it is possible to make out various groups of five, ten, or fifteen books which form units within the limits of the whole.

Book I. covers 244 years, the time of the kings, besides the brief summary of the Trojan and Alban myths; the first decade extends to the close of the second Samnite war; the lost second decade told of the third Samnite, the Pyrrhic, and the first Punic war and the interval before the second; the entire third decade is devoted to the second Punic or Hannibalic war. Book XLV. brings us to the year 167 B. C., and the triumph of Paulus after the conquest of Macedonia; so that the remainder of the history, ninety-seven books, covered 158 years, less than two years to a book, showing that the lost portions were much more detailed than the extant portions.

The legend of the foundation of the city, which many annalists had treated at great length and adorned with later fables of Greek invention, Livy gives in short and simple form. Similar in spirit is his treatment of the history of the kings, in which he followed such annalists as Piso and Tubero, doubtless borrowing some features of the story from the poet Ennius. Throughout the first decade he followed various annalists, and here he was led into some blunders, as he afterward discovered, by Valerius Antias.

On coming to the second Punic war, he found contemporary authorities to draw upon. All through the third decade may be traced an extensive use of Coelius Antipater. In Books XXI. and XXII. he expressly mentions Fabius and Cincius, and it is evident that he consulted a number of other annalists, to whom he refers by

Treatment of  
the legendary  
period.

Authorities  
for the third  
decade.

general expressions. Here was available the great Greek historian, Polybius, whose universal history in forty books extended from the beginning of the second

Polybius.

Punic war to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth. Polybius was one of the thousand Achaeans exiled to Italy in 167 B. C. He lived on intimate terms with the younger Scipio and his friends, and supplemented his exceptional opportunities for gathering information by extensive travel in the east and west. He treated his subject in a critical and philosophic spirit, was impartial in his attitude and sure in his judgment. His style was clear, simple, and unadorned, his matter admirably arranged; and though his work is in some places dry reading, it was a most excellent source of information for subsequent writers.

From the beginning of the third decade many passages of Livy correspond with Polybius, some of them word for word; but there are numerous variations which are hard to explain on the supposition that Livy copied directly from Polybius. So it is doubtful whether he had Polybius before him at first, or was simply following Coelius, who drew from the same

Coelius.

source as Polybius, namely, Silenus. But there is no doubt that after the affairs of Macedonia and Greece became involved in the narrative, Livy made constant use of Polybius, that is, from Book XXIII. onward, though he does not expressly mention him before Book XXX. ch. 45. So it is possible that even from the beginning of the decade he used Polybius to supplement and correct his chief authority, Coelius.

It is not fair, in charging Livy with negligence and credulity, to judge him by the standard of modern historical methods. The classical and mediaeval historians, in treating of times prior to their own, were content to take the writings of previous chroniclers as the basis

Livy's uncritical methods not peculiar.

of their own work, — to transcribe bodily without naming the earlier author, and to amend or modify if they saw fit.

It was only when they reached contemporary events that their labor became original and independent. A critical investigator of facts like Polybius was a rare exception.

Difficulty of research in ancient times. The physical difficulty of a thorough collation of authorities in antiquity was a stupendous obstacle

to critical research. The most industrious of modern investigators, if deprived of printed books, modern libraries and carefully arranged state archives freely opened to students, could accomplish comparatively little. Few of the ancients could possibly have made thorough preliminary studies of their subjects, in any such sense as we now understand the words.

Besides, a searching examination of all authorities was foreign

Livy's purpose to Livy's purpose, which was moral and artistic, not not critical. It was to a large extent impossible under

the conditions of his age and was not desired by his contemporaries. And so when he is accused of writing from chroniclers and not from documents, and while we must admit that he made no effort to discover new documents, and did not even take the trouble to examine those that were within his reach, we must also remember that this was the fashion of his age, not his peculiar fault. We should be doing him great injustice if we failed to recognize his sincere desire to tell the truth, which he regarded as the first duty of the historian, and of which he continually gave evidence. In those days, history that was already ancient was regarded as closed and settled. People expected to find in the annalists all there was to know of the subject, and so, for the time before 390 B. C., Livy looked upon them as his only source.

The result of this ancient method was, of course, much confusion and contradiction, most of which will never be satisfactorily elucidated. It is peculiarly unfortunate that, through

the loss of all the later books which treated of recent and contemporary events and were addressed to a public able to detect errors of fact or deficiency of information, we are not in a position to estimate Livy as an original historian.

Impossibility  
of judging him  
as an original  
historian.

He has been reproached, moreover, with having confined himself too exclusively to the narration of events, and with having neglected all that concerned civilization, institutions, laws, manners, literature, and the arts. This character he shares with nearly all the ancients, who had little idea of the philosophy of history, cared not for abstract discussion, and preferred, when they had to explain the causes of events, to put their reflections into the mouths of their personages. This practice was not natural, to be sure, but its improbability was atoned for by the great oratorical beauties of which it was the occasion.

Though we know so little about the facts of Livy's life, in his works we learn to know and love him. His central theme is the grandeur of eternal Rome. He gives the index to his mental attitude in his preface. It is evident that he took a patriotic pleasure in his work as a consolation for the death of republican freedom, and for the present which contained so much that was saddening to his heart.

His character  
as shown in  
his work.

He had an earnest moral purpose, — to hold up before the degenerate Romans of his own day the picture of the virtues of their ancestors, which had made the brave days of old so truly glorious. This he was able to do better than any of his predecessors, by his poetic instinct, his rare rhetorical and dramatic talent, and that unusual power of sympathetic treatment which renders all that is high and noble so attractive to his readers. His ethical purpose is all the better fulfilled because he does not stop to moralize.

Moral earnest-  
ness.



He had a lofty conception of the Roman virtues, — fortitude, valor, magnanimity, candor, obedience to authority, self-restraint, incorruptible integrity, self-sacrificing patriotism, — which led him often to idealize the heroes of the olden time. When forced to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen, he condemns it as un-Roman.

We realize his firm belief in Rome's destiny to dominion and permanence, — a destiny resting upon the national character. So he deeply regretted the decay of the old-fashioned sturdy virtues and the ancient religious faith of the people, and felt with Augustus and with Horace the necessity for their revival. He was free from superstition, but was pious and reverent.

Though he accepted the imperial rule as established by Augustus, and lived on friendly and even intimate terms with

the emperor, it was rather with resignation than with enthusiasm. The existing state of things was the best possible under the circumstances,

but not the ideally best. His heart was with the older, better time of liberty, the only condition worthy, in his view, of men of self-respect. And by liberty he did not understand the license of the many, the mob rule of democracy, but the tempered, self-restrained, law-abiding freedom of the best days of the aristocracy, when the counsels of the state were really directed by her wisest and best citizens. His admiration for the Pompeian party, whose side Patavium had espoused in the civil war, was based upon an ideal conception of their objects as an attempt to restore that long-perished condition of the republic. And so, though his sympathies are essentially aristocratic, he disliked all that was violent or subversive of the peace and order of society, and hated an aristocrat like Appius Claudius, the decemvir, as heartily as the most turbulent tribune of the *plebs*.

His nature was intensely conservative, and so, with poetic

appreciation, he repeated the legends of the early days which had long ago become a part of the national memory, not concealing the fact that they contained a large mythical element, but presenting them in their main features, with simplicity and dignity, doing away with a great accumulation of inappropriate additions of later times. But we are not to understand him as vouching for the truth of every story he relates. In this same conservative spirit he reports prodigies and miracles, realizing that they were in great part the creations of excited imagination, but not feeling called upon to question what the best men had believed and acted upon in the past, and considering them also an important feature in the pictures he drew of by-gone times, part of the scenery, so to speak, amid which the actors had moved. Remembering the age in which he lived, it is evident that, though he was devout and imaginative, with a profound reverence for the mighty past and for the powers of the unseen world, he could not possess the childlike credulity of a primitive civilization.

Conservatism.

Piety.

The kindliness of his nature constantly appears in sympathy for the oppressed and unfortunate; his indignation at wrong, deceit, and oppression is honest and spontaneous.

The warmth of his patriotism was such that it sometimes betrayed him into partiality to his countrymen and injustice toward their opponents: but this fault is only the excess of a virtue which we can regard more charitably than the cold impartiality of those who have no patriotism to bias their judgments; and the essential candor of his disposition led him to appreciate what was great or good wherever he found it.

Patriotic bias.

However Livy has been criticised for his historical methods, as a writer he has met with nothing but praise. His language is pure, rich, clear, harmonious,

Literary  
excellence.

— comparable in eloquence to that of the greatest orators. Quintilian, the prince of ancient critics, characterizes it most happily by the phrases "*lactea ubertas*," and "*clarissimus candor*," (X. i. 32 and 101). In ordinary narrative, simple and easy, he rises without effort to eloquence, and his tone is always proportioned to the nature of his subject. He excels in painting the great scenes in the nation's life, the bitterness of party struggles, the passions of the masses, the joy and dread of multitudes. He lives with his characters, and makes their feelings his own. In the expression of emotions, and especially of pathos, he is unequalled.

His modern admirers cannot fail to rejoice that he enjoyed the good fortune of being appreciated by his contemporaries. So far as we know, there was but one dissenting voice, perhaps the voice of jealousy, amid the universal chorus of admiration. Quintilian says (VIII. i. 3), "*In Patavinitate*."

*Tito Livio . . . putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam Patavinitatem.*" Evidently this was a charge of provincialism, which may have been intelligible at the time, but which to modern scholars has proved a subject of much inquiry more curious than profitable.<sup>1</sup>

In point of language, Livy, together with Sallust and Nepos, is the connecting link between the golden and silver ages of Latinity: he possesses the qualities of the latter in such degree only as to enhance the beauties of the former. He is the one great

Marks a transition in the Latin language.

<sup>1</sup> Numerous theories upon this subject have been propounded. For instance, H. Mensel in the *N. Jahrb. für Philol.* 1885, pp. 402 sqq., makes clear that one of the points which may have offended Asinius was Livy's use of *ab* before consonants, which is abnormally extensive in comparison with the usage of Caesar and Cicero. Similar to this is the very large use of intensive and frequentative verbs, most extensive in the first decade, and constantly growing more restricted as the work goes on. An entirely different and very improbable hypothesis was, that Livy's Patavinity consisted in his sympathies with the Pompeian party.

prose writer among the poets of the Augustan age, as Catullus and Lucretius were the only great poets amid the prose authors of the Ciceronian period.

Livy's language is still pure and correct enough, but it is no longer that of Caesar and Cicero. Without speaking of new words and new expressions, his syntax is already sensibly modified, partly in consequence of natural development, partly through the influence of the language of poetry, and perhaps of the language of the people,—both of which in the imperial epoch penetrated more and more into the language of prose. This mixture, showing a little in Livy, is a sign of the approaching decadence; another sign is that certain words and certain forms have in his diction already lost their proper sense. His style, in short, with all its brilliancy and all its charm, has no longer the severity and simplicity of the preceding age.

The peculiarities of Tacitus' style have been conveniently put under three heads, — *brevitas*, *varietas*, *color poeticus*. Livy has the last two, as decidedly as he lacks the first. In the periods of Cicero we find always a carefully adjusted balance of the parts, perfect symmetry of clauses and phrases. In Livy and in Sallust there is a constant variety in the coördinate elements, and an intentional lack of symmetry, which in Tacitus develops into the most pronounced peculiarity.

Yet essentially Livy is a Ciceronian in style; his sustained elevation, abundance, — at times a little excessive, — rich coloring, vivid imagination, seem to be the actual fulfilment of Cicero's own ideal of the historical style, which he says (Orator, XX. 66), differs from the oratorical "almost as much as the poetic style." Quintilian says (X. i. 31), that history is like an "epic in prose," having the right to borrow of poetry some of its liberties. This theory Livy

appears to have put into practice. In fact, next to the oratorical form of thought and expression, his most salient characteristic is the poetic coloring he assumes from time to time,—consisting in the employment of words or constructions rare in prose, in the boldness of his images, and in turns of phrase unlike the ordinary manner of expression.

13  
Among the more obvious features of Livy's diction and syntax the beginner will notice the following points:—

### NOUNS.

Use of concrete singulars for collectives or plurals.

*eques* habitually for *equites* or *equitatus*, e. g. p. 46, l. 16; similarly *pedes*, *miles*, *Romanus*; *vestis* in collective sense, p. 104, l. 20; *Poenus* for *exercitus Punicus*, p. 81, l. 33.

Abstract for concrete substantives.

*remigio* for *remigibus*, p. 95, l. 17; *servitia* for *servos*, p. 50, l. 9.

Fondness for verbals of action in *-us*.

*traiectu*, p. 6, l. 12; *saltatu*, p. 25, l. 19; *ductu*, p. 75, l. 7; *Vestitus*, p. 77, l. 10.

And verbals of agency in *-tor* or *-sor*, using the latter both substantively and adjectively.

*ostentator*, p. 14, l. 22; *exercitu victore reducto*, p. 14, l. 21; *liberator ille animus*, p. 68, l. 22.

### GENITIVE.

Of possession used predicatively.

*prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat*, p. 84, l. 2; *tutela essent*, p. 9, l. 15.

Partitive with adjectives.

*in inmensum altitudinis*, p. 107, l. 4; *aestatis reliquom*, p. 158, l. 19; *circumfusus militum*, p. 175, l. 10.

## DATIVE.

Predicative or of service.

*diis cordi esset*, p. 49, l. 17; *ut usui essent*, p. 100, l. 24.

Instead of accusative or ablative with prepositions, especially after compound verbs.

*mare fluminibus invexit*, p. 147, l. 21; *adequitavit portis*, p. 188, l. 7.

Extensive use of dative of reference, and of agency with involved idea of interest.

*Quaerentibus ratio initur*, p. 29, l. 6.

## ACCUSATIVE.

Adverbial or synecdochical.

*adversum femur ictus*, p. 80, l. 24; *apparitores hoc genus*, p. 11, l. 26.

Omission of direct object, especially with

*ducere (exercitum)*, p. 28, l. 14; *tenere (cursum)*, p. 3, l. 16.

## ABLATIVE.

Extensively used without prepositions, where they would normally be expected,—the local ablative constantly shading off into the modal or instrumental.

(*in*) *carpento sedenti*, p. 44, l. 14; *lapides (de) caelo cecidis*, p. 142, l. 6; *profectus (cum) sexaginta longis navibus*, p. 99, l. 2.

Names of towns *unde*, regularly take *ab*.

Comparatio Compendaria.

*omnium spe celerius*, p. 79, l. 17.

## ADJECTIVES.

Fondness for forms in *-osus*, *-bundus*, *-cundus*.

Used substantively.

*ab Hermandica profugi*, p. 78, l. 7; *inferentis vim*, p. 118, l. 6.

Predicate adjectives used adverbially.

*prospera evenissent*, p. 94, l. 19.

For objective genitives.

*consularibus aliis impedimentis*, p. 139, l. 8; *dictatoria invidia*, p. 171, l. 18.

#### ADVERBS.

Fondness for the ending *-im*.

*gravatim*, p. 4, l. 31; *pedetemptim*, p. 101, l. 36.

Adverbs with adjective significance.

*omnium circa populorum*, p. 72, l. 26; *quadraginta deinde annos*, p. 20, l. 16.

Peculiar use of certain adverbs; e. g.,

*circa* for time as well as place; *ceterum* = *sed*; *iuxta* = *pariter*; *adhuc* for past time; *unde*, *ibi*, *inde*, referring to persons; *admodum*, with numerals.

#### VERBS.

Affection for iteratives or intensives, often precisely with the meaning of the simple verbs.

*Imperitabat*, p. 27, l. 8.

Simple verbs for compound.

*in maius vero ferri*, p. 105, l. 23; *scriberet*, p. 153, l. 15.

*Fui* and *fuera*m as auxiliaries instead of *sum* and *eram*.

*Forem* as the equivalent of *essem*.

Frequent appearance of present and perfect subjunctive in dependent clauses of *oratio obliqua*, where rule of sequence would require the imperfect or pluperfect;<sup>1</sup>

e. g. Tarquin's speech, p. 62, ll. 17, sqq.

Active and passive with middle sense.

*pandi*, p. 146, l. 9; *demissa*, p. 44, l. 15; *perfunderis*, p. 56, l. 2.

Neuter verbs in compound tenses of the passive.

*perventum (est)*, p. 107, l. 21; *est cessatum*, p. 195, l. 27; *tumultuatum (erat)*, p. 89, l. 7.

<sup>1</sup> See Article on the Latin Aorist Subjunctive in *Classical Review*, Oct., 1890.

## PARTICIPLES.

Ablative absolute without substantive.

*inaugurato*, p. 46, l. 20; *inexplorato*, p. 146, l. 7.

Past passive participle for verbal abstract noun.

*degeneratum in aliis*, p. 64, l. 3.

Of deponent verbs in passive sense.

*expertus*, p. 44, l. 33.

Hypothetical.

*invicta . . . si . . . dimicaretur*, p. 78, l. 20.

Omitted.

*aqua ex opaco specu (profluens)*, p. 26, l. 13; *pugna ad Trebiam (commissa)*, p. 88, l. 20.

In comparative and superlative degrees.

*occultiores*, p. 105, l. 30; *extentissima valle*, p. 106, l. 3.

Gerundive in instrumental ablative or ablative absolute.

*Quibus oppugnandis*, p. 77, l. 26; *quaerendis vadis*, p. 101, l. 36.

## FIGURES OF RHETORIC AND SYNTAX.

Alliteration.

*Romulus, rex, regia*, p. 14, l. 27.

Anaphora.

*Hic terminum dedit, hic mercedem dabit*, p. 117, l. 5.

Anastrophe of prepositions.

*Faesulas inter Arretiumque*, p. 144, l. 16.

Brachylogy.

*ad fidem promissorum*, p. 107, l. 28.

Chiasmus.

*Rebus perpetratis vocataque multitudine*, p. 11, l. 17.

Constructio per synesim.

*Magna pars raptae* (i. e. *virgines*), p. 13, l. 15.

Ellipsis.

*At enim*, e. g. p. 91, l. 5; *Tantum ne*, p. 92, l. 6; *ne errarent*, p. 64, l. 26; *ni intervenissent*, p. 60, l. 1.



Inversion of familiar phrases.

*bello domique*, p. 44, l. 33; *Vere primo*, p. 94, l. 15.

Paronomasia.

*consilio auxilioque*, p. 66, l. 17; *hostis pro hospite*, p. 71, l. 9.

Pleonasm.

*longe ante alios acceptissimus*, p. 20, l. 18; *Itaque ergo*, p. 30, l. 25; *nova de integro*, p. 147, l. 12.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS.

THE text of the first decade comes to us through recensions by Victorianus (fourth century) and two Nicomachi (fifth century). The best MSS. representing them are the *Codex Mediceus* (M) at Florence (eleventh century) and the *Codex Parisinus* (P) at Paris, No. 5725 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (tenth century). Earlier MSS. once known to scholars have disappeared.

For the third decade the chief source of the text is the Puteanus (P) MS. of Paris, No. 5730 (sixth century). As several leaves at the beginning are missing, we are reduced, for the first two thirds of Book XXI., to two MSS. derived from the Puteanus, the Colbertinus at Paris, No. 5731 (C) (tenth or eleventh century), and the Mediceus at Florence (M) (eleventh century).

The text of Livy was first printed at Rome in 1469. The first great critical edition was that of Gronovius, Leyden, 1644, which remained the standard for nearly two centuries. A number of excellent editions have appeared since 1830, and the first rank to-day is held by those of Madvig (Copenhagen), and Weissenborn (Berlin).

Among recent editions with notes of Books I., XXI., and XXII., the following are worthy of recommendation : —

Weissenborn, annotated edition (*cura* H. J. Müller), Weidmann, Berlin. Bk. I., 8th ed., 1885 ; XXI., 8th ed., 1888 ; XXII., 8th ed., 1891.

The whole of Livy is constantly appearing in parts.

Moritz Müller, Bk. I. Teubner, Leipzig, 1888.

Heynacher, Bk. I. Perthes, Gotha, 1885.

Seeley, Bk. I. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881.

Valuable Introduction.

Greenough, Bks. I., II. Ginn, Boston, 1891.

Wölfflin, Bk. XXI. Teubner, Leipzig, 1891.

Wölfflin, Bk. XXII. Teubner, Leipzig, 1891.

Luterbacher, Bk. XXI. Perthes, Gotha, 1894.

Luterbacher, Bk. XXII. Perthes, Gotha, 1894.

Riemann et Benoist, Bks. XXI., XXII. Hachette, Paris, 1888.

Harant, Bks. XXI., XXII. Belin, Paris, 1886.

Capes, Bks. XXI., XXII. Macmillan, London, 1889.

Dowdall, Bk. XXI. Deighton, Bell, & Co., Cambridge, 1885.

Dowdall, Bk. XXII. Deighton, Bell, & Co., Cambridge, 1888.

Greenough and Peck, Bks. XXI., XXII. Ginn, Boston, 1893.

Among other books interesting to students of Livy may be mentioned : —

Ancient Classics for English Readers. Livy, by Rev. L. W. Collins : Macmillan, London ; Lippincott, Philadelphia.

The Remains of Ancient Rome. J. H. Middleton. Black, Edinburgh, 1892.

Hannibal. T. A. Dodge. Houghton, Boston, 1893.

Die Phraseologie des Livius. E. Ballas. Jolowicz, Posen, 1885.

Études sur la Langue et Grammaire de Tite-Live. O. Riemann. Thorin, Paris, 1885.

It has to a great extent superseded the earlier work of Kühnast, *Die Hauptpunkte der Livianischen Syntax*.

Historisch-Kritische Untersuchungen zur 3ten Dekade des Livius. H. Hesselbarth. Waisenhaus, Halle, 1889.

Lexicon Livianum. F. Fügner. Teubner, Leipzig. Fasciculi I.-VI. 1889-1893.

An important and valuable work, to appear in parts.

Livius, XXI.-XXIII., grammatisch untersucht. F. Fügner. Weidmann, Berlin, 1888.

# TITI LIVI

## AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI.

---

### PRAEFATIO.

*The motives of the author in writing the history of the Roman people, and the plan and aim of the work.*

Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripsérim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte 5 rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient 10 meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et inmensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine labore sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin prae origines proximaeque originibus minus prae- 15 bitura voluptatis sint festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca tota illa mente repeto, 20 avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum mo-

numentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et  
5 ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo quam imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt,  
10 haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine: ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentes primo mores  
15 sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta  
20 in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitare capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec  
25 in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque inmi-graverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit: adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem  
30 pereundi perdendique omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint: cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius  
35 inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

ausgerum idcirco  
accus. case  
formis Germani  
do  
do

## TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

### LIBER I.

*At the fall of Troy Aeneas and Antenor escape to Italy.  
The latter settles in Venetia; the former in Latium,  
where he marries and founds a city.*

I. Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorque, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsus et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intumum maris Adriatici sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fati primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est: alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt,

107

113

postquam afli-  
cti sunt  
64

TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa  
canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque  
advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum de-  
inde, qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti  
5 domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent,  
postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem  
Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo  
profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et  
nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello  
10 vel paci paratum dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae  
sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exerci-  
tus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse  
in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum  
publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium  
15 data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem  
stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt;  
Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi  
stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Asca-  
nium parentes dixere nomen.

1  
*Victory of the Latins and Trojans over the Rutulians and  
Etruscans. Death of Aeneas.*

20 II. Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti.  
Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adven-  
tum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre pati-  
ens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neura  
acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli, victores  
25 Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde  
Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etrus-  
corum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiant, qui Caere,  
opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio  
minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum nimio plus  
30 quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere  
ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit. Aeneas,  
adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi

*Diamond*

attendant circumstances.

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolumē mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri, tanta indoles in Lavinia erat, res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius, an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — certe natum Aenea constat — abundante Laviniā multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albanō monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.

Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam  
triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes cre- 30



peneval.
5
 verant maxime fuis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem  
 Aeneae, nec deinde inter muliebre[m] tutelam rudimen-  
 tumque primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezen-  
 tius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita  
 convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem  
 nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat,  
 Ascani filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aeneam  
 Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo co-  
 loniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit  
10
 Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae regnaverunt.  
 Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Ca-  
 petus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulae amnis  
 submersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit.  
 Agrippa inde Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus  
15
 Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino ful-  
 mine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus  
 in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis, cognomen  
 colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque  
 Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat,  
20
 regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis  
 potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso  
 fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus: stirpem  
 fratris virilem interimit, fratris filiae Reae Silviae per  
 speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua  
25
 virginitate spem partus adimit.

✓
*The birth of Romulus and Remus. Exposed by order of the king, they are nursed by a she wolf, and finally rescued and brought up by the shepherd Faustulus.*

✓
30
 IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis  
 maximeque secundum deorum opes imperii principium.  
 Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset,  
 seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpa[e] honestior erat,  
 Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii  
 nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia

vindicant. Sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes 5 spem ferentibus dabat. Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima eluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminans est — Romularem vocatam ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in 10 sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praeuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula La- 15 rentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

subj. characteristic.

Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragraré 20 saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.

25 ✓

*Remus's identity is accidentally discovered, and the two brothers, assisted by their friends, the shepherds, attack and slay the usurper Amulius.*

V. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadium multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut 30 nudi iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque

lasciviam current, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiosos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi  
 5 Amulio tradidisse ultro <sup>adversus</sup> aëcuses. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur.  
 Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stir-  
 10 pem apud se educari: nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus Romulo rem  
 15 aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret.  
 20 Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum, nec enim erat ad vim apertam par, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem  
 25 obruncant.

*The kingdom of Alba is restored to Numitor. Romulus and Remus, desiring to found a city where they had grown up, contend for the preëminence.*

VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelus in se  
 30 fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti

*Subj. minor + question*  
 essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam <sup>assembly</sup> contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit. 5

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albano-  
 rum Latinorumque, ad id pastores quoque accesserant, <sup>add</sup> qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum <sup>add</sup> Lavinium <sup>omitted</sup> prae ea urbe, quae conderetur, fore. Interve-  
 nit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti prin-  
 cipio. Quoniam gemini essent, nec aetatis verecundia <sup>per q' d' g' p' m' h' m'</sup> discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca <sup>15</sup> essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

*Remus is slain. Romulus founds Rome on the Palatine Hill. The legend of Hercules, Cacus, and Evander.*

VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur sex vultures, iamque nuntiato augurio, cum duplex numerus Ro- 20 mulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatiores fama est ludibrio 25 fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset "Sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea!" interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, munxit. 30  
 Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Eu-

andro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Gery-  
 one interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac  
 prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens  
 nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto  
 5 reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi  
 cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset,  
 pastor accola eius loci nomine Cacus, ferox viribus,  
 captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam  
 vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compu-  
 10 lisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura  
 erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine,  
 caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auro-  
 ram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et  
 partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam  
 15 speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi om-  
 nia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confu-  
 sus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro  
 armentum occepit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad  
 desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusa-  
 20 rum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem  
 cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere cona-  
 tus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans  
 morte occubuit.

Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate  
 25 magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir mira-  
 culo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines,  
 venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam  
 fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae  
 eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Euander, concursu pastorum  
 30 trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis ex-  
 citus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habi-  
 tum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque  
 humana intuens rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen  
 patremque ac patriam accepit, "Iove nate, Hercules,  
 35 salve" inquit. / "Te mihi mater, veridica interpretes deum,  
 aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit, tibi que aram huc

337 2-2

## LIBER I. CAP. VIII.

II

dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet "tuoque ritu colat." Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen inpleturumque fata ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent, iisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt; donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus omne Potitiorum interiiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

*Romulus makes laws, establishes the Senate, assumes kingly state, and opens an asylum for strangers.*

III. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et ap- paritores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudi-

Notae 1

nis quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi <sup>advantage</sup> prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum per fugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris

10 fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat: centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent: patres certe ab honore, patricique progenies eorum appellati.

*In order to obtain wives, the Romans invite their neighbors to witness games, and seize the maidens who come with their parents.*

15 IX. Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa

20 vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem conubiumque novo populo peterent: urbes quoque ut cetera ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes, sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem.

25 Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant; a plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque

30 asylum aperuissent: id enim demum compar conubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.

Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat Neptuno Equestri sollemnis; Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant concelebrant, ut rem claram 5 exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses Crustumīni Antemnates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moeniaque et fre- 10 quentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quaeque 15 inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam 20 eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum: inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam. Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes virginum profugunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem decepti 25 venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id <sup>ab</sup>superbia factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent. Illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et, quo nihil carius humano 30 generi sit, liberum fore. Mollirent modo iras, et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adnissurus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat 35 desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum pur-

united



gantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

✓ *Romulus defeats the people of Caenina, slays their king, and dedicates the first "spolia opima."*

X. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque  
5 et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates  
10 erant, ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se inpigre movent: ita per se ipsum nomen Caeni-  
15 num in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fūsum persequitur; regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliāt; duce hostium occiso urbem  
20 primo impetu capit.

Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad  
25 quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis finis, cognomenque addidit deo. "Iuppiter Fereetri" inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis,  
30 quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posterī ferent." Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis

visum, nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine conpotum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

5

*Easy victories over Antemnae and Crustumerium. The Sabines gain the Roman citadel by bribing Tarpeia.*

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx precibus raptarum fatigata orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde, contra Crustumino profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae; plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustumini nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

20

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit: nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatus, ut armatos in arcem accipiat — aquam forte eatum sacris extra moenia petitem ierat; — accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod vulgo Sabini aureas arnillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in

30

*Antemnae*

sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset directo arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.

*A battle ensues in the valley where was afterward the Forum. Romulus averts defeat by vowing a temple to Jupiter Stator.*

*3 lines*

- 5 XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini, atque inde postero die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est complexset, non prius descenderunt in aequum, quam ira et cupiditate recuperandae arcis stimulante animos in adversum Romani  
10 subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant: ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusaque est ad veterem portam  
15 Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus arma ad caelum tollens "Iuppiter, tuis" inquit "iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc armati superata media valle tendunt. At tu, pater deum hominumque hinc  
20 saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo. Haec precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, "hinc" inquit, "Romani, Iuppiter opti-  
25 mus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet." Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi: ipse ac primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabini princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos toto quantum foro spatium est, nec procul iam a porta  
30 Palatii erat, clamitans "Vicimus perfidos hospites, inbelles hostes. Iam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere,

*all the lines*

aliud pugnare cum viris." In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum Romani persequuntur, et alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito animo evadit: Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium; sed res Romana erat superior.

*The Sabine women entreat their fathers and husbands to be reconciled. The Romans and Sabines unite into one community under the joint rule of Romulus and Tatius.*

XIII. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste victo malis muliebri pavore ausae se inter tela volaptia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne patricidio maculant partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem. "Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras. Nos causa belli, nos vulnere ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus." Movet res cum multitudinem tum duces. Silentium et repentina fit quies; inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt, nec pacem modo sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt, regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabi-

nas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias <sup>triginta</sup> divideret, nomina earum curiis inposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fu-  
 5 erit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatius Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo  
 10 commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

*Tatius is slain by the Laurentians, and Romulus reigns alone. The Romans attack and capture Fidenae.*

XIV. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium pulsan, cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus po-  
 15 terant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavini, cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque  
 20 bello quidem abstinuit: ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Lavini-  
 ✓ umque urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fide-  
 25 nates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum  
 30 magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus—neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum

bellum poterat — exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae adequitando ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret gradum, 10 plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in praesidio relictos fuerant: ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene quam Romulus quique cum eo equites erant circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuerunt se hosti: haerens in tergo 20 Romanus priusquam fores portarum obicerentur velut agmine uno inrumpit.

*Conquest of part of the Veientine territory. Popularity of Romulus with the lower classes and the soldiers.*

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione inritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate — nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci erant, — et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana 25 na omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines manus excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam iustis belli. Itaque non castris positis, non expectato exercitu raptam ex agris praedam portantes redire. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in 30 is non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere

mulat.

et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam  
egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de  
tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte  
adiutis tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus  
5 vicit, persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida  
muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit; agros rediens va-  
stat ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade  
haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem  
petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis  
10 in centum annos indutiae datae.

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta,  
quorum nihil absoum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque  
post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito  
recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello  
15 ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis  
tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam  
pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam  
patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis:  
trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Cele-  
20 res appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace  
habuit.

✓  
*During a review in the Campus Martius Romulus mysteri-  
ously disappears from the earth. Reappearing in deified  
form, he predicts Rome's future glory.*

✓  
XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exer-  
citus recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae  
paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno  
25 fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbō,  
ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit. Nec deinde in  
terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem  
pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tran-  
quilla lux\* rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi  
30 satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem  
raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta mae-

autem *allervates* . 7. 1. 1.

stum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, 5 qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent — manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama; — illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor in contionem prodit. “Romulus” inquit “Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset: “Abi, nuntia” inquit, 15 “Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit: proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.” “Haec” inquit “locutus sublimis abiit.” Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

*Interregnum, during which the senators rule in rotation.*

*Dispute between the two parts of the nation as to the choice of a king. Discontent of the lower orders. The election is referred to the people, subject to confirmation by the Senate.*

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magno pere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat; factionibus inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum



regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum inritatis  
 5 animis vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summæ rerum præessent, consociant. Decem im-  
 10 peritabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servi-  
 15 tutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem et ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo permissa, ut non plus darent iuris quam retinerent.  
 20 Decreverunt enim, ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt. Tum  
 25 interrex contione advocata "Quod bonum faustum felixque sit" inquit, "Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearetis, auctores fient." Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id  
 30 modo sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.

*Numa Pompilius, a Sabine renowned for piety and justice, is elected king and inaugurated upon the Capitoline Hill.*

XVIII. Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numæ Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consul-

tissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non extat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum 5 Heracleamque et Crotona iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. 15

Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur 25 ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dexteris ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita precatus ita est: "Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput tenco, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos 35

24  
fines, quos feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae  
mitti vellet; quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de  
templo descendit.

*Numa founds the temple of Janus, reigns in unbroken peace,  
inculcates fear of the gods and establishes the calendar.*

XIX. Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam  
5 vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro,  
condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere vide-  
ret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum  
ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus Ianum ad  
infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus  
10 ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes  
populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum  
clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum  
primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati  
dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab  
15 imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.  
Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac  
foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculo-  
rum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium  
disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem  
20 ad multitudinem <sup>imperitam</sup> et illis saeculis rudem effica-  
cissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui  
cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento mira-  
culi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congres-  
sus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima  
25 diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique de-  
orum praeficere.

Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim  
menses describit annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singu-  
lis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque . . . dies solido  
30 anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis men-  
sibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad  
metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium  
annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies

fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

*Institution of the great Flamens, the Vestals, the Salii, and the Pontifex Maximus.*

*Julian  
Commentary  
10.3.7.4*

XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc ad Dilem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate 5 bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsidium sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo le- 15 git, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen, caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.

Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium Marci filium ex 20 patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque adtribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes 25 veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque cura- 30 rentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

✓

*Quintus*

*Peaceful reign of the pious king. His meetings with the goddess Egeria. Institution of the worship of Fides.*

XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea  
 5 pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iurandum pro anxio legum ac poenarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitumi etiam populi, qui antea castra non urbem positam in medio ad solli-  
 10 citandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua. Quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congres-  
 15 sum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit, manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam  
 20 sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam regni.—Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia  
 25 via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

*Tullus Hostilius is chosen third king. War is declared against Alba Longa.*

XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde  
 30 Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce

clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit: patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique 5 materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Forte evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas in vicem agerent. Imperitabat tum Gaius Cluilus Albae. Utrumque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis, ne quid 10 prius quam mandata agerent. Satis sciebat negaturum Albanum: ita pie bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta: excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et neganti Al- 15 bano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam, quod minus placeat Tullo, dicturos, sed imperio subigi: 20 res repetitum se venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec Tullus "Nuntiate" inquit "regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant huiusce clades belli." 25

*When the armies meet, the Alban dictator deprecates a pitched battle as fatal to both parties.*

XXIII. Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus 30 tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod

nec acie certatum est, et tectis modo dirutis alterius  
urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt.

Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum  
impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque  
5 milia passuum locant, fossa circumdant: fossa Cluilia ab  
nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec  
cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his ca-  
stris Cluilius Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani  
Mettium Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox prae-  
10 cipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso  
capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum  
poenas ob bellum inpium dictitans, nocte praeteritis ho-  
stium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit.  
Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium. Ducit quam prox-  
15 ume ad hostem potest. Inde legatum praemissum nunti-  
are Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio:  
si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum, quae  
nihilominus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam per-  
tineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tamen, si vana adfe-  
20 rantur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani.  
Postquam structi utrinque stabant, cum paucis procerum  
in medium duces procedunt. Ibi inquit Albanus: "Iniur-  
rias et non redditas res ex foedere quae repetitae sint,  
et ego regem nostrum Cluilium causam huiusce esse  
25 belli audisse videor, nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae-  
te ferre. Sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa di-  
cenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque  
populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, recte an perpe-  
ram, interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio, qui bellum  
30 suscepit: me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere.  
Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res quanta  
circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc  
magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent.  
Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas  
35 acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque simul vic-  
torem ac victum adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant,

quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii  
servitique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri  
utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine  
utriusque populi decerni possit." Haud displicet res  
Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae 5  
ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui  
et fortuna ipsa praebeuit materiam.

*The contestants agree to decide the war by a combat of three  
champions from each army.*

XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trige-  
mini fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios  
Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua 10  
alia est nobilior. Tamen in re tam clara nominum  
error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint.  
Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui Ro-  
manos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinatur animus.  
Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria 15  
dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit.  
Nihil recusatur. Tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam  
dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est  
his legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent,  
is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. 20

Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia  
fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior  
foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita roga-  
vit: "Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani  
foedus ferire?" Iubente rege "Sagmina" inquit "te, rex, 25  
posco." Rex ait "Puram tollito." Fetialis ex arce gra-  
minis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit:  
"Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani  
Quiritium, vasa comitesque meos?" Rex respondit:  
"Quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium 30  
fiat, facio." Fetialis erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patra-  
tum Spurium Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque



tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus, multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, "Audi," inquit, "Iuppiter, audi, 5 pater patratus populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficit. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo 10 malo, tum illo die, Iuppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem sacerque 15 sacerdotes peregerunt.

*Victory of the Horatii over the Curiatii, in consequence of which Alba becomes subject to Rome.*

XXV. Foedere icto trigemini sicut convenerat arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suoapte ingenio et pleni adhortantium 20 vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Considerant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes: quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. 25 Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animos intendunt. Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur 30 animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis

perstringit, et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius vulneratis tribus Albanis 5 expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos 10 ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. 15 In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adiuvant militem suum, et ille defungi proelio 20 *hastis* festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat, alter fessum 25 vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se, strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exultans "Duos" inquit "fratrum Manibus dedi, tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." Male sustinenti arma gladium 30 superne iugulo defigit, iacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gaudio, quod prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepul- 35 cra extant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno

loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

✓ *The only surviving Horatius slays his sister, who bewails the death of her lover, one of the Curiatii; being tried for this crime, he is saved by an appeal to the people.*

XXVI. Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettius, ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti iuventutem in armis habeat, usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti.

Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens. Cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque  
 10 super umeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci iuveni animum conploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico.  
 15 Stricto itaque gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. "Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum" inquit, "oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem." Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens  
 20 meritum facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratusque ad vulgus iudicii ac secundum iudicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, "Duumviros" inquit, "qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent secundum legem facio." Lex horrendi  
 25 carminis erat: duumviri perduellionem iudicent. Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent, caput obnubito, infelici arbori reste suspendito, verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium. Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege  
 30 ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex iis "Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico"

inquit. "I, lictor, conliga manus." Accesserat lictor  
 iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo,  
 clemente legis interprete, "provoco" inquit. Ita provo-  
 catione certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in  
 eo iudicio maxime Publio Horatio patre proclamante, se  
 filiam iure caesam iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in  
 filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se,  
 quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbem  
 liberis facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus,  
 spolia Curiatorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia  
 appellatur, ostentans, "Huncine" aiebat, "quem. modo  
 decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Qui-  
 rites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus  
 videre potestis, quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme  
 spectaculum ferre possent?" I, lictor, conliga manus, 15  
 quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano  
 pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius;  
 arbore infelici suspende, verbera vel intra pomerium,  
 modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pome-  
 rium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatorum. Quo enim du- 20  
 cere hunc iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum  
 a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent? Non tulit popu-  
 lus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni peri-  
 culo animum; absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis  
 quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo 25  
 tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expia-  
 ret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacri-  
 ficiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt,  
 transmisso per viam tigillo capite adoperto velut sub  
 iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice sem- 30  
 per refectum manet; sororium tigillum vocant. Hora-  
 tiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est  
 saxo quadrato.

*Dei iure*

*Treachery of Mettius Fufetius, the Alban dictator, in the war  
against Fidenae.*

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi,  
quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit,  
vanum ingenium dictatoris corrumpit, et, quoniam recta  
consilia haud bene evererant, pravis reconciliare popu-  
5 larium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem,  
sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animo-  
rum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam  
atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis  
per speciem societatis proditionem reservat. Fidenates,  
10 colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis pacto  
transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur.  
Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus Mettio exercitu-  
que eius ab Alba accito contra hostes ducit. Ubi  
Anienem transiit, ad confluentis collocat castra. Inter  
15 eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim  
transierat. Hi in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum  
cornu, in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt.  
Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos; Albanos  
contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus  
20 animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire  
aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis  
subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque  
animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium  
erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Mira-  
25 culo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut  
nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde  
eques citato equo nuntiat regi, abire Albanos. Tullus  
in re trepida duodecim vocat Salios fanaque Pallori ac  
Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exau-  
30 dirent, redire in proelium iubet, nihil trepidatione opus  
esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fi-  
denatium nuda terga invadant. Item imperat, ut hastas  
equites erigerent. Id factum magnae parti peditum

Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit: et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. 5 Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in 10 aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

*Mettius is denounced by Tullus, and put to death in the presence of the Alban and Roman armies.*

XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur, contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi inluxit, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Hi novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex conposito armata circumdatur Romana legio. Centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut 25 sine mora imperia exequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit: "Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit, quod primum dis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu 30

meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum  
sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis,  
ignorantibus deserere vos, averteretur a certamine animus,  
et hostibus circumveniri se ab tergo ratis terror ac fuga  
5 iniceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum  
est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego  
inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille  
est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator  
belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Au-  
10 deat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam docu-  
mentum mortalibus dederō." Centuriones armati Mettium  
circumsistunt. Rex cetera ut orsus erat peragit: "Quod  
bonum faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi  
vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romanum  
15 traducere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores  
in patres legere, unam urbem, unam rem publicam  
facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa  
Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat." Ad haec  
Albana pubes inermis ab armatis saepta in variis volun-  
20 tatibus communi tamen metu cogente silentium tenet.  
Tum Tullus "Metti Fufeti" inquit, "si ipse discere  
posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina  
a me adhibita esset: nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile  
ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus  
25 ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur  
paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem  
incipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum  
dabis." Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis in currus  
earum distentum inligat Mettium, deinde in diversum  
30 iter equi concitati lacerum in utroque curru corpus, quae  
inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes  
ab tanta foeditate spectacula oculos. Primum ultimum-  
que illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum me-  
moris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet,  
35 nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

*Alba is destroyed and its population removed to Rome.*

XXIX. Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet, sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias. Et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas; vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbe Albanis Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit: templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

*Growth of the city. War against the Sabines.*

XXX. Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis: duplicatur civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et quo 30



frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit, ibique deinde habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit: Iulios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios; tem-  
 5 plumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur, equitum decem turnas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit et novas  
 10 scripsit.

Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque. Utrumque iniuriae factae ac res nequiquam erant repetitae: Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu fre-  
 15 quenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur; Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur. Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum virium partem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper etiam adiectione po-  
 20 puli Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit: publico auxilio nullo  
 25 adiuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes — nam de ceteris minus mirum est — pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides. Cum bellum utrimque summa ope pararent, vertique in eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad Silvam  
 30 Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente investis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde illis constare nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.

LIBER I. CAP. XXXI.

*A shower of stones is expiated by a nine days' feast. During a pestilence Tullus falls a prey to superstitious terrors, and is finally destroyed by a thunderbolt.*

XXXI. Devictis Sabinis cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium in conspectu haud aliter, quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelestis ex Albano monte missa — nam id quoque traditur — seu haruspicum monitu: mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo iam homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volentem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta

*longinquo*

sollemnia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum iis sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasset. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

*Ancus Marcius is elected fourth king. His character. Regulation of the ceremonies to be observed in declaring war.*

XXXII. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia <sup>saecularibus</sup> habente Ancum Marcium regem 10 populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili regis nepos filia ortus Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor, et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat aut neglectis religionibus aut praye 15 cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica ut ab Numa instituta erant facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album <sup>com</sup>relata proponere in publico iubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. 20 Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus erat, sustulerant animos; et, cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium 25 erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam quod illi contigisset otium, sine iniuria id se haud facile habiturum: temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, 30 temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur so-

lum sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur.

Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo — lanae velamen est — “Audi, 5 Iuppiter” inquit, “audite fines” — cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat, — “audiat fas! ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pieque legatus venio verbisque meis fides sit.” Peragit inde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: “Si ego iniuste inpieque illos homines illasque 10 res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam siris esse.” Haec, cum fines suprascandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obuius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit. Si non deduntur 15 quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta — tot enim sollemnes sunt — peractis bellum ita indicit: “Audi Iuppiter et tu Iane Quirine diique omnes caelestes vosque terrestres vosque inferni audite! Ego vos testor, populum illum” — quicumque est, nominat — “iniustum esse, neque ius 20 persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus, quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur.” Tum nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: “Quarum rerum litium causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani 25 Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic,” inquit ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, “quid censes?” Tum ille: “Puro pioque duello quaerendas cen- 30 seo, itaque consensio consciscoque.” Inde ordine alii rogabantur, quandoque pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret, et non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret: “Quod populi Priscorum

nec trans-



num, ad Murciae datae sedes. Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte Sublicio, tum primum in Tiberim facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, 5 haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis cum in tanta multitudine hominum discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe imminens 10 foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit sed etiam ager finesque: silva Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae; egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata. 15

*Tarquinius Priscus comes from Etruria to Rome, where he gains the affections of the people and the confidence of the king.*

1 XXXIV. Anco regnante Lucumo, vir inpiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones 20 domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium <sup>20</sup> heres, Arruns prior quam pater moritur uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; 25 qui cum ignorans nurum ventrem ferre inmemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium 30 Tanaquil summo loco nata, et quae haud facile his, in

De  
Chronology

Med

Sabre -

*newcomer.*

quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quo innupsisset.  
 Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exule advena ortum,  
 ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga  
 patriam caritatis, dummodo "virum" honoratum videret,  
 5 consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad  
 id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repen- *sd.*  
 tina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti  
 ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum  
 9 in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre  
 10 ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile  
 9 persuadet ut cupido honorum, et cui Tarquinii materna  
 tantum patria esset. *cl.*  
 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Iani-  
 culum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum  
 15 uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum aufert,  
 superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus,  
 16 velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit, inde  
 sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Ta-  
 naquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum  
 20 mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet:  
 eam alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse,  
 circa summum culmen hominis auspiciu fecisse, levasse  
 humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem  
 redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes ur-  
 25 bem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tar-  
 quinium Priscum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum  
 eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant, et ipse fortunam be-  
 nigno adloquio, comitate invitandi beneficiisque quos po-  
 terat sibi conciliando adiuvabat, donec in regiam quoque  
 30 de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud  
 regem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia in familiaris  
 amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis  
 consiliis bello domique interesset, et per omnia expertus  
 postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

*At the death of Ancus he is chosen fifth king. He establishes the "gentes minores," conquers Apiolae, lays out the Circus Maximus and institutes the "Iudi Romani."*

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros ve-<sup>5</sup> natum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambiciose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos conpositam: se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus<sup>10</sup> regnum adfectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in regnum ultro accitum: se, ex<sup>2</sup> quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua<sup>15</sup> civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse: — haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti<sup>20</sup> consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres<sup>25</sup> legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, praedaeque inde maiore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta ludos opulenter instructiusque quam<sup>30</sup> priores reges fecit. Tunc primum circo, qui nunc max-



imus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent, fori appellati. Spectavere furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes, deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae.

*War with the Sabines. Increase of the equites despite the opposition of the augur Attus Navius.*

XXXVI. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna utrimque caede pugnatum, est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes Titienses Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit, suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, hisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem ut ferunt, "Age dum" inquit, "divine tu, inaugura, fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio." Cum ille augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, "Atqui hoc animo agitavi" inquit "te novacula cotem discissurum: cape haec et perage, quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt." Tum illum haud cunctanter discidissee cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio, in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit, cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros

miraculi eius monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit, numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub isdem nominibus qui additi erant appellati sunt, quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

*The Sabines are defeated and their spoils offered to Vulcan.*

XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum in Anienis ripa iacentem ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus inpecta publicis cum haerent pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis, et fuis eadem fugam inpediit, multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit: utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant; et pauci tenere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium — id votum Vulcano erat — ingenti cumulo accensis pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quamquam male gestae res erant, nec gesturos melius spe-

rare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi ~~perditis~~ iam prope rebus pacem petiere.

*Surrender of Collatia. Victories over the Latins. Public works at Rome.*

XXXVIII. Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri  
 5 erat Sabinis ademptum, Egerius — fratris hic filius erat  
 regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Col-  
 latinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse:  
 rex interrogavit "Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a  
 populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dede-  
 10 retis?" "Sumus." "Estne populus Conlatinus in sua  
 potestate?" "Est." "Deditisne vos populumque Con-  
 latinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensi-  
 lia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populi Romani  
 dicionem?" "Dedimus." "At ego recipio." Bello  
 15 Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit.  
 Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad  
 universae rei dimicationem ventum est; ad singula op-  
 pida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit.  
 Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ame-  
 20 riola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut  
 qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde  
 est facta.

Maiore inde animo pacis opera inchoata quam quanta  
 mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi es-  
 25 set, quam militiae fuisset: nam et muro lapideo, cuius  
 exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua  
 nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca  
 circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia  
 ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fa-  
 30 stigio in Tiberim ductis siccant; et aream ad aedem in  
 Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesa-  
 giente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat  
 fundamentis.

omit.

*A flame appears upon the head of Servius Tullius, a young boy asleep in the palace of Tarquin. The queen predicts his future eminence.*

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventuale mirabile fuit: puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges, et, cum -quidam familiarium - aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte expectatus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abis-  
Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil "Viden tu puerum hunc" inquit, "quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae: proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus." Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudiri-  
que artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit, facile, quod diis cordi esset. Iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae, nec cum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.

Hic quacunque de causa tantus illi honos habitus, credere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum, qui Corniculo capto Servi Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse Prisci Tarquini in domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

"policeman"

50

TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

*Tarquin is murdered at the instigation of the sons of Ancus Marcius.*

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare  
coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud  
patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius  
erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indig-  
5 nissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos,  
regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne  
Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas cre-  
scere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum,  
sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in ea-  
10 dem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romu-  
lus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec  
in terris fuerit, id servus, serva natus, possideat. Cum  
commune Romani nominis tum praecipue id domus  
suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non  
15 modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret.  
Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et  
iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Ser-  
vium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si  
superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum Servio  
20 occiso quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem  
regni heredem facturus videbatur: — ob haec ipsi regi  
insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti  
ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferra-  
mentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime  
25 specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt.  
Inde, cum ambo regem appellerent clamorque eorum  
penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt.  
Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstre-  
pere. Coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tan-  
30 dem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex composito orditur.  
Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam  
securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo  
se foras eiciunt.

*His death is concealed until, by the assistance of Tanaquil,  
Servius Tullius is established as sixth king.*

XLI. Tarquinius moribundum cum qui circa erant  
exceperant, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Cla-  
mor inde concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset.  
Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros  
eicit; simul quae curando vulnere opus sunt, tamquam 5  
spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes,  
alia praesidia molitur. Servio prope accipio cum paene  
exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne  
intulit mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse  
sinat. "Tuum est" inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum, 10  
non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fe-  
cere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc  
fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portende-  
runt. Nunc te illa caelestis excipit flamma, nunc ex-  
pergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, 15  
non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia  
torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere." Cum clamor  
impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superi-  
ore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam Viam versas  
— habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris — populum Tana- 20  
quil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum  
fuisse regem subito ictu, ferrum haud alte in corpus  
descendisse, iam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus abs-  
terso cruore; omnia salubria esse. Confidere prope diem  
ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere populum 25  
dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obitumque,  
alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus  
prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis con-  
sulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot  
dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per 30  
speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit.  
Tum demum palam factum est conploratione in regia  
orta. Servius praesidio firmo munitus primus iniussu

populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi iam tum, comprehensis sceleris ministris cum vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exulatum ierant.

*Servius marries his daughters to the sons of Tarquin. War with Veii. Institution of the census.*

5 XLII. Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam  
privatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus  
adversus Tarquinium fuerat; talis adversus se Tarquini  
liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis Lucio atque  
Arrunti Tarquiniis iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati neces-  
10 sitatem humanis consiliis, quin <sup>omnibus</sup> invidia regni etiam inter  
domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Perop-  
portune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Ve-  
ientibus — iam enim induitiae exierant — aliisque Etruscis  
sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit  
15 Tulli; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex,  
seu patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam  
rediit.

Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longae maximum opus,  
ut, quem ad modum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset,  
20 ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis  
ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque  
aliquid interlucet, posteris fama ferrent. Censum enim  
instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo  
belli pacisque munia non viritum ut ante, sed pro habitu  
25 pecuniarum fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc  
ordinem ex censu discipit vel paci decorum vel bello.

*The reformed constitution and the Comitia Centuriata.*

XLIII. Ex iis, qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem  
censum habent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadrage-  
nas seniorum ac iuniorum: prima classis omnes appellati;

Act 11-12. *Ad res  
publ. hinc  
liber I. CAP. XLIII.*

53

*dit=*

seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere; haec ut tegumenta corporis essent: tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae. Arma imperata scutum pro clipeo, et praeter loricam omnia eadem. Tertiae classis quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit. Totidem centuriae et hae eodemque discrimine aetatum factae; nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium; totidem centuriae factae; arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae. Fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. His accensi cornicines tubicinesque, in duas centurias distributi. Undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit: inde una centuria facta est immunis militia. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub isdem, quibus inauguratae erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduae adtributae, quae bina milia aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera.

Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat,



ut secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere umquam infra ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus duplicato earum numero centuriis  
 5 iuniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque, qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror ab tributo — nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est;  
 10 — neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere.

*The ceremonies of the Lustrum. The seven hills of the city are enclosed with a ring-wall.*

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit: ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quis  
 15 que centuriis in Campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia LXXX eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor  
 20 eorum, qui arma ferre possent, eum numerum fuisse.

Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat  
 25 urbem: ita pomerium profert. Pomerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse: est autem magis circamoerium, locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque  
 30 interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod ne-

*circamoerium*

que habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur. 5

*A temple to Diana is built on the Aventine Hill as a common sanctuary for Rome and Latium.*

XLV. Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum. Id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter procures Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae 15 populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat.

Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res 25 prodigii loco est; et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam cives Dianae immolassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae, Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. 30 Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur: "Quidnam tu hospes paras," inquit, "in-

finis

ceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praeffluit Tiberis." Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad  
 5 Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

*Servius' daughter and her husband Lucius Tarquinius conspire against him.*

XLVI. Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare,  
 10 conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit: immo eo in-  
 15 pensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris  
 20 tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinium,  
 25 mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset, constituique  
 30 civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum;

spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret<sup>7</sup> audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit; malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a ? femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro 5 ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere quam cum inpari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem 10 videat. Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet. Ita Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante.

*Tarquin, incited by his wife to seize the throne, goes with armed men to the Forum, summons the Senate and inveighs violently against Servius.*

XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum 20 quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. "Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic 25 cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates patrique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec 30 parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarqui-

nios aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior quam patris." His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo  
 5 continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres, admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo grati-  
 10 am repetere; allicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, ut iam agenda rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus percussis pavore in regia sede pro curia sedens patres  
 15 in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum ser-  
 20 vaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio  
 25 alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

*Servius is murdered, and his daughter drives over his son.  
 The length of his reign. His character.*

30 XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce "Quid hoc" inquit, "Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu

audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considerare mea?" Cum ille ferociter ad haec: se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiore, filium regis, regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis; clamor ab utriusque 5 fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, (necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo) et aetate et viribus validior medium arripit Servium, elatunq[ue] e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus 10 deicit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum. Ipse prope exanguis ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento 15 certe; id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, *flectenti* 20 carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum 25 vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo contaminata ipsa respersaque tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope 30 diem exitus sequerentur. — Servius Tullius regnavit annos IIII et XL ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam mode- 35 ratum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum

in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intes-  
tinum liberandae patriae consilia agitantı intervenisset.)

*Tarquin, surnamed the Proud, becomes the seventh and last  
king. He mistrusts his subjects, weakens the senate, but  
conciliates the Latins.*

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Su-  
perbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener  
5 sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse  
dictitans; primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favis-  
credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi  
regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse  
armatis corpus circumsaepsit. Neque enim ad ius regni  
10 quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi  
iussu neque auctoribus patribus regneret. Eo accede-  
bat, ut in caritate civium nihil <sup>reponenti</sup> metu  
regnum tutandum esset.) Quem ut pluribus incuteret,  
cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus  
15 exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere,  
bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos,  
sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.  
Praecipue ita patrum numero inminuto statuit nullos in  
patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset,  
20 minusque per se nihil <sup>agı</sup> indignarentur. Hic enim  
regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus  
senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem pub-  
licam administravit, bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per  
se ipse cum quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus  
25 fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem con-  
ciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives  
esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum sed  
adfinitates quoque iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano  
— is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae cre-  
30 dimus, ab Ulixe, deaque Circa oriundus, — ei Mamilio  
filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cog-  
natos amicosque eius conciliat.

*Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, at a meeting of the Latin league, attacks Tarquin in a violent harangue.*

L. Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Feren-  
tinae conveniant indicit: esse quae agere de rebus com-  
munibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse  
Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam 5  
sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio  
variis iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab  
Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus:  
haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen —  
iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen 10  
eum appellabant;—an quicquam superbius esse quam  
ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe  
ab domo excitis ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non  
adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si iugum ac-  
ceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, 15  
adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene  
crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum  
parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic qui-  
dem alienigenae, debere: sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe  
qui alii super alios trucidentur, exulatum eant, bona amit- 20  
tant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant,  
domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis ob-  
servaturos diem concilii quam ipse, qui indixerit, obser-  
vet. Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus  
facinorosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus 25  
cum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis  
orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum;  
qui silentio facto monitus a proximis, ut purgaret se,  
quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sump-  
tum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in 30  
gratiam moratum esse; et quia ea res exemisset illum  
diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id



quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorē esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

*Turnus, falsely accused by Tarquin of a treasonable conspiracy, is put to death without a trial.*

5 LI. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi  
10 opprēsserat, Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem opprēssit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corripit, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladiatorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem  
15 accitis ad se principibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia inlatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fu-  
20 isse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum  
25 coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiatorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesternā et mora  
30 Tarquini, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi

Pape

est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circum-  
sistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate do-  
mini vim parabant, cum gladii abditii ex omnibus locis  
deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa,  
iniectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum con- 5  
cilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox  
invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa  
novo genere leti deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae  
crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

*Rome's supremacy is acknowledged by the Latins and confirmed by a treaty.*

LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarqui- 10  
nius conlaudatisque, qui Turnum novantem res pro mani-  
festo parricidio merita poena adfecissent, ita verba fecit:  
posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum om-  
nes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, eo foedere teneantur,  
quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in 15  
Romanum cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id  
magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus,  
secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes  
Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agro-  
rum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante per- 20  
pessi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur. Haud  
difficuler persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere  
superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis  
Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus  
sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat docu- 25  
mentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque iunioribus  
Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae  
armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Ro-  
mani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem  
suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, 30  
miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis  
singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis ma-  
nipulis centuriones imposuit.

2

4

*War with the Volscians and capture of Suessa Pometia with rich spoil. Tarquin resorts to a stratagem to gain possession of Gabii.*

LIII. Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravius fuit: quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam  
5 aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate es-  
10 set. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta  
15 esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, adgressus est. Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens: iam ab alienis in suos  
20 vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut, quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris  
25 elapsam nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium Volscosque  
30 inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppli-

ciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum. Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benignè ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis 5 in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

10

*Sextus Tarquin, after gaining the confidence of the Gabines, betrays their city to his father.*

LIV. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent; ipse identidem belli auctor esse, et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam 15 profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana 20 adcreceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinius dono deum sibi missum ducem cre- 25 dere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscita- 30 tum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dii

*infimique*

dedissent. Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequente nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur  
 5 baculo decussisse. Interrogando expectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit, refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens, quidve praeciperet tacitis  
 10 ambagibus, patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exilium acti sunt, absentiumque  
 15 bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

✕

*The foundations of the Capitoline Temple are laid; Terminus refuses to withdraw from the site.*

20 LV. Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum, ut Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinius reges ambos, pa-  
 25 trem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius, quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi a T. Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurata-  
 30 que postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere.

qua caederetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem habent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrumque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

*Attempt to storm the city. Overtures of surrender.*

XII. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbal<sup>¶</sup> Himilco<sup>¶</sup> filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal — ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant, condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Tur-

1/2  
34  
32  
16  
99

detanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, 5 adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum — et ipse ita iubebat — est deductus. Quo 10 cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

*Address of Alorcus to the Saguntines.*

XIII. "Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab 15 Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis, nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus — ego, ne 20 ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia 25 ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes, nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad 30 modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte diru-

tam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis."

*Saguntum is taken by storm.*

XIV. Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?



*The great booty captured. Duration of the siege.*

XV. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat, et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulum init, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

*Consternation at Rome on hearing the news.*

25 XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est, tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaeque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginenses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad

portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremq̃ue secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque inbellem. ¶ Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios 5  
laccessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum: Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo aduetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae 10  
urbis Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; concitum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

*Preparations at Rome for war.*

XVII. Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae 15  
erant, tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et socium quantum ipsis videretur et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, so 20  
ciorum quadraginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberent populo Carthaginensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque 25  
adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae legiones duae — ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni equites — et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves 30  
longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum

Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus. Sexaginta quin-  
 5 queremes datae — neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant — et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescen-  
 10 peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

*A Roman embassy declares war at Carthage.*

XVIII. His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natū, Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium, in Africam mit-  
 15 tunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus  
 20 datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis: ceterum haec legatio verbis  
 25 adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpa exprimitur, et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quaerendum censeam, sed  
 30 utrum iure an iniuria: nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid

publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii vestri — cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, 5 Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici: vos enim quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico 10 consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando 15 pariat." Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, "Hic" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem portamus, utrum placet, sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet, subclamatum est.\* Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos. 20

*Futility of disputing about treaties. The Romans fail to gain allies in Spain.*

XIX. Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res 25 esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita 30 vivo eo conprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quamquam, etsi priore

foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utro-  
rumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat "iis, qui  
tunc essent" nec "ne qui postea adsumerentur;" et  
cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aecum censeret  
5 aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut  
receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthagi-  
niensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua,  
'sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae impe-  
10 ratum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et in so-  
cietatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt.  
Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne ex-  
cepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hibe-  
rum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt.  
15 Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per  
Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Ro-  
mana avertit. Ita enim maximus natus ex iis in concilio  
respondit: "Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare  
vos, uti vestram Carthaginensium amicitiae praepona-  
20 mus, cum qui id fecerunt crudelius, quam Poenus hostis  
perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaeratis socios,  
censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est: Hispanis po-  
pulis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti  
ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati con-  
25 fidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi  
ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba  
tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam  
transeunt.

*Similar failure in Gaul. The envoys return home by way  
of Massilia.*

XX. Ibi iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod  
30 armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium venerunt.  
Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Ro-  
mani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno

ad regulos eorum misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilius esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. 5 Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona 10 pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

*The praetor Manlius is sent to put down a rising of the Cisalpine Gauls.*

XXV. In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpibus iam transisset, 15 Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum ter- 20 roris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffusi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius M. Annius. Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. 25 Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur et gens ad 30 oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari

coeptum de pace agi; evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra ius modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi  
 5 redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipit  
 10 tatur, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita, et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca  
 15 ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis: ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque inpedito evasere. Inde  
 20 apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propincuum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.

*The praetor Atilius is sent to help him. The consul Scipio, on the way to Spain, finds Hannibal about to cross the Rhone.*

25 XXVI. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio iubent, qui  
 30 sine ullo certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus am- 5 nis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montis. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis reffectis ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos 10 equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliariis Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffusi citeriore agro 15 arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolae fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique con- 20 trahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levatique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant 25 ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

*Passage of the Rhone by the Punic army.*

XXVII. Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traici- 30 endum terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum,



maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adriatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edo-  
 5 cent inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla  
 10 mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positus, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune ex-  
 15 equendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen  
 20 ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent,  
 25 inposuerant in naves.

*The Gauls are driven off and the elephants brought across the river.*

XXVIII. Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore  
 30 vario nautarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terri-

bilior ab tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum 5 maxime iter, perrumpunt, trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat. *1702*

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis 10 ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur, nantem traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat rati- 15 bus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religa- 20 tam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aequae lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephantum per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti 25 ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac traieci sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; 30 primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetemptim vadis in terram evasere.

*Encounter of Hannibal's and Scipio's cavalry.*

XXIX. Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur: nam praeter multa vulnere caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit, Victores ad centum quadraginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes, integro bello nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum obliterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter inmensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

*Hannibal, resolving to push on at once to the Alps, addresses his men.*

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror inva-

serit. Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod quicumque Saguntum obsedissent velut ob noxam sibi dedi postula- 5  
ret populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter 10  
ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectionem, in conspectu Alpibus habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, — quid Alpibus aliud esse credentes 15  
quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inextinguibiles humano generi esse; Alpibus quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere, animantes; pervias faucibus esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, lega- 20  
tos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpibus transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpibus ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil secum praeter instrumenta 25  
belli portanti quid invium aut inextinguibile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gal- 30  
los ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet: proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

*The march up the Rhone, through the country of the Allobroges, where Hannibal settles a civil war, and thence toward the mountains.*

XXXI. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare  
atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus  
adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non  
quia rector ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari  
5 recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum  
quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in  
animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam  
pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex  
Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluent  
10 in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. In-  
colunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica  
gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat.  
Regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius  
imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu  
15 iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur.  
Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Han-  
nibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea  
senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori  
restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum  
20 omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames fri-  
goribus Alpes praeparari cgebant. Sedatis Hannibal  
certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non  
recta regione iter instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos  
flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri ten-  
25 dit in Tricorios haud usquam inpedita via, priusquam  
ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus  
amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus tran-  
situ est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non  
tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis,  
30 pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper  
vada novosque gurgites — et ob eadem pediti quoque

incerta via est — ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebebat; et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

5

*Scipio sends his army to Spain and returns to Italy. Hannibal meets with some opposition on his march.*

XXXII. P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram factur. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum progressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves 10 rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendentem ab Alpibus Hannibali occurrentem. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres 15 socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad 20 Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope 25 inmixtae, tecta informia inposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, 30 coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque

ad visenda loca praemissis postquam conperi<sup>o</sup> transitum  
 ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque  
 quam extentissima potest valle locat. Tum per eosdem  
 Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorren-  
 5 tis, cum se inmiscuissent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus  
 interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque  
 dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto  
 atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde  
 simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto, cum  
 10 eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi  
 primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit  
 custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium  
 in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis  
 et maxima parte peditum ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo  
 15 quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumu-  
 lis, quos hostes tenerant, consedit.

*Attacks on the Carthaginians in a narrow pass. Then three  
 days of easy marching.*

XXXIII. Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen  
 relicum incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex  
 castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente  
 20 conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput inmi-  
 nentis, alios via transire hostis. Utraque simul obiecta  
 res oculis animisque immobiles parumpèr eo defixit; de-  
 inde, ut trepidationem in angustis suoque ipsum tumultu  
 misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quid-  
 25 quid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati,  
 diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adseti decurrunt.  
 Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul iniquitate locorum  
 Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quo-  
 que tendente, ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum  
 30 hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen  
 faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam  
 repercussaeque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et

icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem  
 ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis  
 facerent; multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque  
 utrimque angustiae essent, in inensum altitudinis deie-  
 cit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo 5  
 iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam  
 foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac  
 suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret.  
 Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque  
 esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam in- 10  
 columem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum  
impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit.  
 Sed is tumultus momento temporis postquam liberata  
 itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium  
 modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castel- 15  
 lum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, viculosque cir-  
 cumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum  
 exercitum aluit, et, quia nec a montanis primo perculsis  
 nec loco magno opere impediabantur, aliquantum, eo  
 triduo viae confecit. 20

*Treachery of the mountaineers.*

XXXIV. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus  
 alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto,  
 sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circum-  
 ventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad  
 Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos 25  
 memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poeno-  
 rum; itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commea-  
 tum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides  
 acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec asper-  
 nandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, be- 30  
 nigne cum respondisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis  
 et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus,  
 nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces



eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans omnia sollicitusque incedebat. Ubi in angustiores viam et parte altera subiectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum  
 5 est, undique ex insidiis barbari, a fronte ab tergo co-  
 orti, comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi  
 10 firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliqui erat, occurrentes per obli-  
 15 qua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

*The summit of the pass is reached. Two days' halt. Beginning of the descent.*

XXXV. Postero die iam segnius intercurrentibus barbaris iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore  
 20 tamen iumentorum quam hominum perniciem, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum, modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecis-  
 25 sent. Elephanti, sicut per artas praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia  
 30 pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque

labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumenta-  
 aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vesti-  
 gia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot  
 malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergi-  
 liarum ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive op- 5  
 pleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen  
 incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu  
 emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio  
 quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere 10  
 iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis  
 montibus circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum  
 transcendere non Italiae modo, sed etiam urbis Ro-  
 manae; cetera plana, proclivia fore, uno aut summum  
 altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potes-  
 tate habituros.

15

Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus  
 quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus.  
 Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat — ut plera-  
 que Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt,  
 — difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, an- 20  
 gusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent,  
 nec, qui paulum titubassent, haerere adfixi vestigio suo,  
 alique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

*At one point the road becomes impassable.*

XXXVI. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiore rupem,  
 atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles tempta- 25  
 bundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa  
 eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante  
 praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum  
 altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem  
 viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quae res 30  
 moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Di-  
 gressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia  
 res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis

longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via inexsuperabilis fuit: nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum  
 5 iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvisent,  
 10 ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in contendo unguis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut  
 15 pedica capta haerent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

*The obstruction is removed after four days, and the descent accomplished in three more.*

XXXVII. Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque  
 20 egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt,  
 25 ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim  
 30 fere cacumina sunt, et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles apricosque quosdam colles habent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digni-

ora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum, iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

*The length of Hannibal's march from Spain, his route over the Alps, and the number of his troops.*

XXXVIII. Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum 5 est, quinto mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantaecopiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta—in Italia magis adfluxisse veri 15 simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt;—ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini semigalli proxuma gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id cum inter 20 omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quamam Alpibus transierit et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos 25 Gallos deduxissent. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quae ad Poeninum ferunt obsaepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi 30 eius, nomen norint inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani appellant.

*Hannibal captures a town of the Taurini. Scipio hastens to meet him beyond the Po.*

XXXIX. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proxima<sup>1</sup> genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante  
5 mala, non poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluevie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis tre-  
10 pido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; ac iunxisset sibi non  
15 metu solum, sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolae Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant ex-  
20 ercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam inbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissi-  
25 mum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvi<sup>us</sup> fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effect<sup>u</sup>. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et  
30 ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

*Scipio's address to his army before the battle on the Ticinus.*

XL. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc 5 ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem 10 ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello 15 vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi 20 sunt, nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, plus spei nactos esse. 'At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robor ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit.' 25 Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, inlue, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedito pugnaturi estis, reliquias 30 extremas hostium, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne, cum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum

foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere."

*Continuation of the consul's speech.*

5 XLI. "Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem, consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem,  
 10 et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. / Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conse-  
 15 rendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, neque / . . . , regressus ad navis, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic  
 20 timendo hosti obviui fui. / Utrum, cum declinarem certamen inprovidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginenses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegatis pug-  
 25 naverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus; quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare, respiceret profecto, si  
 30 non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui

decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit 5 ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; ) licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere: — veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex ob- sidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde no- 10 strae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his inperitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam 15 agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unus 20 quisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam 25 illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore."

*Hannibal makes captives fight for life and liberty, as an example to his soldiers.*

XLII. Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum pro- 30 iectis, interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare



ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent, et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio  
 5 exultans cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincētiū magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

*Hannibal's address to his army.*

*Livius* 10 XLIII. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur: "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra hābueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim  
 15 spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit: dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentis;  
 20 circa Padus, amnis maior ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, praemia vobis ea victo-  
 25 ribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent: nunc quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque  
 30 possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consecrando

nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; 5 hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit."

"Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani quid est, cur illi vobis conparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, victo, circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non 20 Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum 30 quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque."

*Continuation of the same.*

XLIV. "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, genero-

sissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos  
 socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses cum  
 pro patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugnatos. Infe-  
 rimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam,  
 5 tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto  
 maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam ar-  
 centis. Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor,  
 iniuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me  
 ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum op-  
 10 pugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt.  
 Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique  
 arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem  
 habeamus, se modum inponere aecum censet. Circum-  
 scribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque,  
 15 quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos  
 observat. 'Ne transieris Hiberum! Ne quid rei tibi sit  
 cum Saguntinis!' 'At cis Hiberum est Saguntum.'  
 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!' 'Parum est quod veter-  
 rimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis?  
 20 Etiam in Hispanias, et inde si decessero, in Africam  
 transcendes.' Transcendes autem? Transcendisse dico.  
 Duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum  
 in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum  
 est, nisi quod armis vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis  
 25 esse licet, qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suos  
 ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipiet; vobis  
 necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam  
 mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si  
 fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem  
 30 oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, si destinatum  
 animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum contemptu  
 mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus  
 acrius datum est."

100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  
112  
113  
114  
115  
116  
117  
118  
119  
120  
121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200  
201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
400  
401  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407  
408  
409  
410  
411  
412  
413  
414  
415  
416  
417  
418  
419  
420  
421  
422  
423  
424  
425  
426  
427  
428  
429  
430  
431  
432  
433  
434  
435  
436  
437  
438  
439  
440  
441  
442  
443  
444  
445  
446  
447  
448  
449  
450  
451  
452  
453  
454  
455  
456  
457  
458  
459  
460  
461  
462  
463  
464  
465  
466  
467  
468  
469  
470  
471  
472  
473  
474  
475  
476  
477  
478  
479  
480  
481  
482  
483  
484  
485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528  
529  
530  
531  
532  
533  
534  
535  
536  
537  
538  
539  
540  
541  
542  
543  
544  
545  
546  
547  
548  
549  
550  
551  
552  
553  
554  
555  
556  
557  
558  
559  
560  
561  
562  
563  
564  
565  
566  
567  
568  
569  
570  
571  
572  
573  
574  
575  
576  
577  
578  
579  
580  
581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000

*The Numidians plunder the tribes friendly to Rome. Scipio crosses the Ticinus and encamps. Hannibal's liberal promises to his men.*

XLV. His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque prope Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, innumeram ipsi, qui acceperisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallerent, datum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos persecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agrum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad modum ipse agrum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

*The battle of the Ticinus begins unexpectedly to both sides.  
Defeat of the Romans. Rescue of the consul by his son.*

XLVI. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio  
5 inminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri  
10 alteros primo cernebant, densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit  
15 in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps. Dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labenti-  
20 bus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus pe-  
25 riculumque intercurso tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invase-  
30 runt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo, sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse ce-

dendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

*The Romans retreat to Placentia. Hannibal follows, and encamps six miles away.*

XLVII. Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, 5 quo facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio conligere castra ab Ticino mota, festinatumque ad Padum est, ut 10 ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Trans 15 ire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem 20 ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint, nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada 25 petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites et Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus 30 Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei

unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

*Scipio entrenches himself on the Trebia and awaits the coming of his colleague Sempronius.*

- 5 XLVIII. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliariis Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugunt, quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium  
 10 donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigi-  
 15 lia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in loca altiora collisque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae  
 20 in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam — iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat — ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Han-  
 25 nibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis com meatibus maior in dies excipi-

ebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditiōis, nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino, praefecto praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id 5 horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

*The Carthaginians send a fleet to invade Sicily.*

XLIX. Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a 10 Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueres cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Mes- 15 sana duodecim naves ab Hierone, rege Syracusanorum, missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas 20 quinque et triginta alias quinqueres Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. 25 Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit monetque, ut Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio. Ex templo et a praetore circa civitates missi legati tribu- nique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito, 30 ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram conscendendi faceret; perque omnem oram, qui ex



speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem, missi. Itaque, quamquam de industria ita moderati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox  
 5 erat et sublati armamenti veniebant; extemplo datum signum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves consensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis  
 10 armamenti eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi inluxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset, exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam  
 15 et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

*The Romans defeat it off Lilybaeum. Sempronius arrives at Messana. Hiero of Syracuse promises him support.*

L. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque  
 20 quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua  
 25 auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circumventae; fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea  
 30 quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit.

Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam armatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum juvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimenta que sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritumisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaeque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves acceperunt.

15

*Minor operations in the Sicilian seas. Sempronius is ordered to reinforce Scipio.*

LI. A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar, Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate viros sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. Iam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore conlegae ferret auxilium,

25

30

missae traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves inpositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiae  
 5 tuendam adtribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen conlegae coniungitur.

*The consuls disagree. Trifling success of some of Sempronius' troops against the Carthaginians.*

10 LII. Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo animi minutus trahi rem malebat;  
 15 recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid  
 20 moverent, aequo satis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum  
 25 usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio  
 30 nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum

perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope, defensos censebat. Is tum collega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. 5 Sparsos et inconpositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsus rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes inter ceden- 10 tesque; cumque ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos fama victoriae fuit.

*Sempronius insists upon fighting, for which Hannibal is equally eager.*

LIII. Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copi- 15 arum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse; restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. 20 Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio ter- 25 raque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. "Quantum ingemiscant" inquit "patres nostri circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus in media Italia paventis intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpibus Apenni- 30 numque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?" Haec adsidens aegro conlegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propincuum comitiorum, ne

in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum ~~vertendae~~ gloriae, dum aeger conlega erat. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propincuum certamen milites iubet.

5 Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque inprovidè quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis cer-  
 10 tamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem  
 15 sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propincuum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Ro-  
 20 manos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

*The battle of the Trebia. 2000 Carthaginians lie in ambush.  
 The Romans are provoked to cross the river.*

LIV. Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equi-  
 25 tes quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic erit locus" Magoni fratri ait, "quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita  
 30 praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno" inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis

novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligit. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita Mago cum mille equitibus, mille peditibus dimissus. Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis, iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ab destinato iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies et in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interiectis, propinquitatem etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt — et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri — tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere.

*The Romans are defeated, mainly by the superiority of the Punic cavalry.*

LV. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliaries locat ante signa ac levem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein

graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursus est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est; quae res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium adtulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum peditibus solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera, et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu inmotae acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

*Part of the Romans retreat to Placentia. The remnant follow at night from their camp.*

LVI. Trepidantisque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, quo novus terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere, et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, alii vestigia ceden-  
tis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressisque in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod relicum ex fuga sauciorum ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.



*Alarm at Rome. The new consuls. Hannibal, repulsed from Placentia, captures Victumulae.*

LVII. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis moenibusque vim arcerent; uno consule ad Ticinum victo, alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; 5 duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quae arcesantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit. Ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium 10 equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus, id, quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius iterum.

15 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieti erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis inpeditiore erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere 20 magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu 25 consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum, in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum 30 quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum

frequentaverant adcolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama inpigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies 5 in via concurrerunt, et, cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et miles duci fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia acceperet; iussique arma tradere 10 cum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, praetermissa clades est: adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis. 15

*Hannibal's attempt to cross the Apennines is defeated by tempest and cold.*

LVIII. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi 20 aut voluntate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Apenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; 25 dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis 30 accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprenti erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero

laboris velut de integro initium fuit; nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti. Tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem assumpti.

*An indecisive battle with Sempronius.*

LIX. Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat ab Roma — detrectavit certamen: atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positos ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum expectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus

dextra laevaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeva aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivillet; nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque 5 acrior concursus fuit quam caedes, et sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit. Sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt 10 interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

*Cn. Scipio gains over many tribes in the N. E. of Spain and defeats Hanno.*

LX. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus 20 cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Laetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata 25 clientelae iustitiaeque fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis 30 cis Hiberum provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam aliena-

rentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positus, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque  
 5 adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum. Nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse  
 10 dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur et Cissis, propincuum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne  
 15 gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

*Hasdrubal, arriving too late to help Hanno, retires beyond the Ebro. He returns and stirs up the Ilergetes against the Romans. Scipio subdues them and winters at Tarraco.*

LXI. Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus ped-  
 ditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum  
 20 Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum  
 25 magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio  
 30 Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum.

populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum 5 infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumscedit, intraque dies paucos pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios 10 et ipsos Poenorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vellent, exceptit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia 15 ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Po- 20 strems, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Taraconem in hiberna reditum est.

*Prodigies alarm the people at Rome.*

LXII. Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in re- 25 ligionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quibus, ingenium infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium 30 speciem de caelo adfuisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse, et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse

atque in ipso pulvinario consedissee, et in agro Amiter-  
 nino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste  
 visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus  
 pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum  
 5 vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera  
 prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapi-  
 dibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum,  
 et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata  
 fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiaeque  
 10 maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, et donum ex  
 auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est,  
 et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedi-  
 caverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae  
 erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido;  
 15 Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati, et supplicatio  
 ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo  
 circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae  
 caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota  
 suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem  
 20 stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaue ex libris Sibyl-  
 linis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

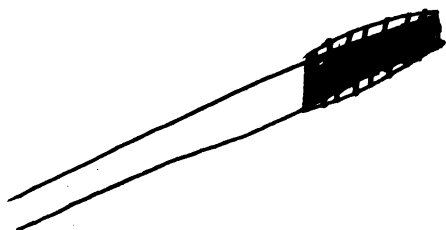
*C. Flaminius, popular with the plebeians, is elected consul a second time, and inaugurated informally at Ariminum.*

LXIII. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui  
 eae legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evene-  
 rant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exer-  
 25 citus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in  
 provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori vete-  
 rum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et  
 quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur,  
 dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus o  
 30 novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adver-  
 sus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio  
 tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset

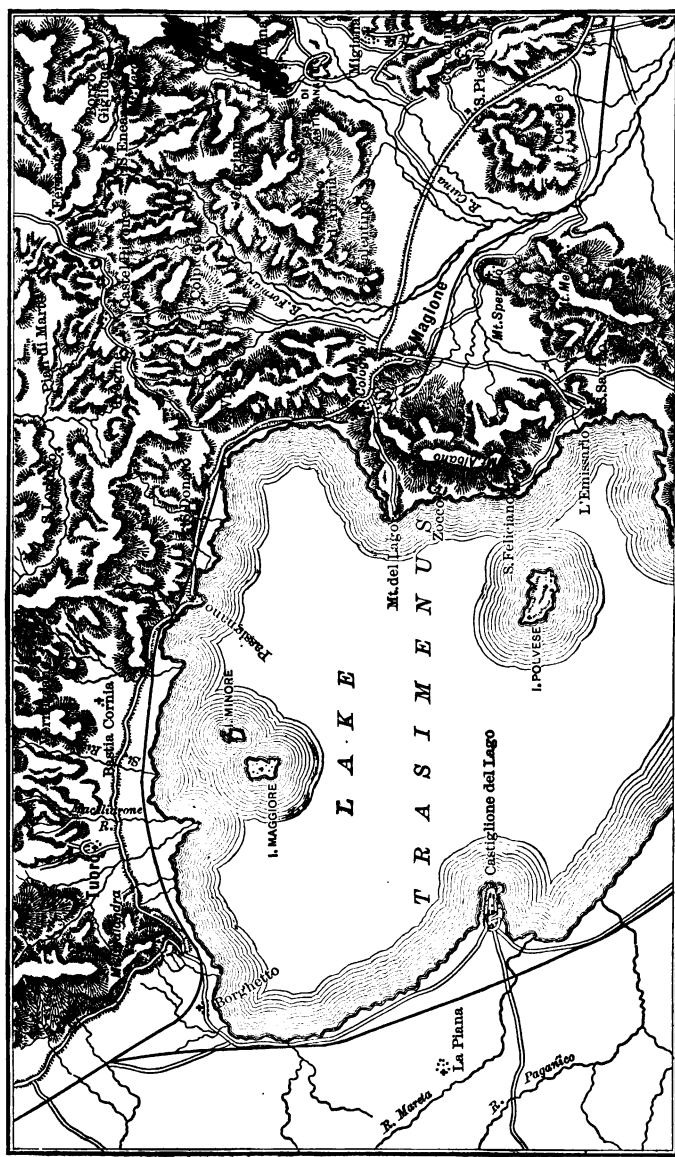
maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum ampho-  
rarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex  
agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus.  
Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud  
nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem 5  
alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus  
auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et  
consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe,  
simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea  
res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis 10  
iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed  
iam cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere.  
Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa  
acie dis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc consci-  
entia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum 15  
nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis  
optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse  
et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas  
indiceret Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte fa-  
ceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota 20  
nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provin-  
ciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus  
profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa  
solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii  
Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in de- 25  
versorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam  
sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque cen-  
suerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos  
hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in pro-  
vinciam iret. In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti 30  
placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo  
magis eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae  
moverant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magis-  
tratum iniit, inmolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus  
sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstan- 35  
tes cruore respersit. Fuga procul etiam maior apud



ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a  
plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus  
inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus  
a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Apennini  
5 tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.



1802.



# TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA.

## LIBER XXII.

---

*Galic plots against Hannibal. Servilius is inaugurated consul at Rome. Further prodigies occur.*

I. Iam ver adpetebat, itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Apen-  
ninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo  
moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque  
concliverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno  
agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse  
premiue utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre,  
verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; peti-  
tusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude,  
eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indican-  
tium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc  
tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat.  
Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius mo-  
vendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus  
Martii magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica ret-  
tulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos  
se consules creasse, unum habere. Quod enim illi ius-  
tum imperium, quod auspiciu esse? Magistratus id a  
domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis,  
sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nun-  
cupatis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec  
sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque  
integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex

pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot  
spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias  
equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora  
crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse,  
5 et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem mi-  
nui visum, et Praeneste ardentē lapides caelo cecidisse,  
et Arpis parmas in caelo visas pugnantemque cum luna  
solem, et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas  
Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Her-  
10 culis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii meten-  
tibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis  
caelum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit  
ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte adtenuatas,  
unamque excidisse ita scriptam "Mavors telum suum  
15 concutit," et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis  
Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae  
speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem ca-  
dentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides  
habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in  
20 marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut  
erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam intro-  
ductis, consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum,  
ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lacten-  
tibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad  
25 omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libros  
inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quem ad modum cordi esse  
divis e carminibus praefarentur. Decemvirorum monitu  
decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo  
quingenta fieret, et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona  
30 darentur, et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique So-  
spitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque  
pecunia conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum  
esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lec-  
tisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde  
35 Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis  
conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro

maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae inolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senatores straverunt — et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum 5 habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

*Painful march of the Carthaginians through the marshes of the Arno into Etruria.*

II. Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius 10 Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus admixtis ipsorum inpedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, 15 ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praefectas 20 altas fluvii ac profundas voragines hausti paene limo inmergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant nec aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel 25 victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes. Maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua 30 sarcinis insuper incumbabant, aut iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum quod extaret

aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua  
5 extaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

*Hannibal lays waste the country in order to provoke Flaminius to battle.*

III. Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco  
10 potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. Consul deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia  
15 nia cum cura inquirendo exequabatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis, sed ne deo-  
20 rum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare  
25 eum atque inritare Poenus parat, et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam  
30 res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia

ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus: conlegam expectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, 5 iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineri pugnaeque cum proposuisset, "Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus" inquit, "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia per- 10 veniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint." Haec simul increpans cum ocus signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insilisset, equus repente conruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Ter- 15 ritus omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omine inci- piendae rei insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" inquit "ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad 20 convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint." Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod dissen- serant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur. 25

*Ambuscade of the Punic army in a defile near Lake Trasimenus. The Romans fall into the trap.*

IV. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumenumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat. Et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum 30 interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse



cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levin armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa  
5 omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustis superatis, postquam in patientiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex ad-  
10 verso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput haud dispectae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusus suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi qua cuique proximum fuit decucurrerunt, eo magis Ro-  
15 manis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret  
20 se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

*A fog prevents regular formation. The Roman resistance is fierce but disorderly.*

V. Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida, inpavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad  
25 dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut inploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse. Per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit,  
30 eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae

conpeteret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulneratorum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. 5 Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque nullam nisi in 10 dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua 15 legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobabat, et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertit 20 que cursu rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

*The consul fights bravely, but is killed, and his army almost destroyed.*

VI. Tris ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impingere ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque noscitans consulem “En” inquit “hic est” popularibus suis, “qui legiones 30 nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus! Iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo;” subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam

hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alios alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque extare possunt, sese inmergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam inpulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes eruptione inpigre facta, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et, cum in tumultu quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmitteretur eques, sublati rapidim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abriperunt. Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fauces etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dederunt. Quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

*Extent of the Roman loss. Reception of the news at Rome.*

VII. Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quinde-

cim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil 5 auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. 15 Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor "Pugna" 20 inquit "magna victi sumus;" et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio inpleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus ex- 25 ercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas 30 maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis 35 terneres, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos.

Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus; unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius expirasse ferunt, alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad primum  
 5 conspectum redeuntis gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatū praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

*Four thousand Roman cavalry captured in Umbria. Fabius Maximus appointed dictator.*

VIII. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens  
 10 alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad conlegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fama varie homines adfecit: pars occupatis maiore  
 15 aegritudine animis levem ex conparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et adfectae civitati quodcumque ad-  
 20 versi incideret, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod adgravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno  
 25 dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia  
 30 disponderent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penetibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

*Hannibal marches through Umbria and thence southward into Apulia. Fabius consults the senate.*

IX. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem opugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud nimis prospere temptatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, 5 in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo 10 quam levi aut facili adfectus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. 15 Cn. Servilius consul levibus proeliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collega exercitusque caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit. 20

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab dis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus negligentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flamínio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos 25 deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque 30 amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erucinae ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum voven-

dum, si bellatum prospere esset, resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem ex conlegii pontificum sententia omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare iubet.

*The people vow a ver sacrum.*

X. His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente conlegium praetore, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam esse salvam, servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver adtulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Iovi fieri ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea, ac senatus populusque iusserit fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto." Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica

quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per tri-  
 duum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex  
 pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum,  
 alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri,  
 quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Ves- 5  
 tae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum aedes votae:  
 Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator  
 vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is  
 voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset;  
 Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit. 10

*Military preparations. Servilius joins Fabius. Capture of  
 a Roman fleet on the way to Spain.*

XI. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello deque  
 re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus  
 victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. De-  
 cretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet;  
 scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equi- 15  
 tum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceret-  
 que, ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se  
 adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per  
 magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad convenien-  
 dum edixit, edictoque proposito, ut quibus oppida cas- 20  
 tellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tu-  
 ta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius,  
 qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac fru-  
 gibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset; ipse via Fla-  
 minia profectus obviam consuli exercituque cum ad 25  
 Tiberim circa Oriculum prospexisset agmen consulem-  
 que cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit,  
 qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem  
 veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum  
 ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque ve- 30  
 tustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab  
 urbe adlatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia



in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent, completis milite ac  
5 navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in navis inpositi,  
10 alii, ut urbi praesiderent, relict.

*Fabius watches Hannibal at a safe distance and steadily refuses battle.*

XII. Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est  
15 egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas coheret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque  
20 pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieti omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit, ceterum tacita cura animum incessit,  
25 quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haud dum expertus agitare ac temptare animum  
30 movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequom posset, occultus sub-

sistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii coegerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae statio 5 composita instructaque in subitos tumultus et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimo receptu adsuefaciebant territum pri- 10 stinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat; 15 ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua inmodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, 20 sese extollebat.

*Hannibal marches through Samnium into Campania, hoping to get possession of Capua.*

XIII. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de industria ducem Romanum, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus ac cladibus sociorum detrahere 25 ad aecum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in 30 Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut

Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, 5 edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Callifanum Allifanum- 10 que et Calenum agrum in Campum Stellatam descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde 15 alia regione esse, virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terro- 20 remque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

*Dissatisfaction in the Roman army, encouraged by Minucius, the Master of Horse.*

XIV. Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen cas- 25 tra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohi- 30 bendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, "Spectatum

huc" inquit Minucius "ut ad rem fruendam oculis, socio-  
rum caedes et incendia, venimus? Nec, si nullius al-  
terius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinu-  
essam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite  
hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus 5  
Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis ter-  
rarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc  
progressus? Tantum pro degeneramus a patribus no-  
stris, ut praeter quam nuper oram illi Punicas vagari  
classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc 10  
plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam fac-  
tam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari in-  
dignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos  
ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hanni-  
balem lenti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum 15  
agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit, strepunt aures  
clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nos quam deo-  
rum invocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per  
aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum ducimus con-  
diti nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacu- 20  
mina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem  
voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus  
in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recu-  
perare parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic  
cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens servave- 25  
rint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die  
dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi  
dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Iani-  
culum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in  
aecum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc 30  
Busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit  
Gallorum legiones. Quid? Post multos annos cum ad  
Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi  
sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii  
perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et 35  
laccessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cer-

vicibus lugum superbo Samniti inposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem com meatibus, ineditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque adparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse; arma capias oportet et descendas in aecum et vir cum viro congrediaris; audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant." Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur, ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos.

*Fabius tries to prevent Hannibal's return to Apulia.*

15 XV. Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostis intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis, sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquom extrahit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio.

20 Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit misso exploratum

30 cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas prospexit, ac per occasionem

etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius iucipere sese iusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occurrentes refugientesque ad castra prope 5 ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostis, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientis. Man- 10 cinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem per- 15 fugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces inminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum 20 posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde milia hostes aberant.

*Hannibal's stratagem to clear the mountain passes.*

XVI. Postero die Poeni quod viae inter bina castra erat agmine conplevere. Cum Romani sub ipso consti- 25 tissent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnare; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit 30 voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret,

Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes  
 5 et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex  
 10 agris conlectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus  
 15 ad montis ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

*Oxen with torches tied to their horns frighten away the Romans guarding the defiles.*

XVII. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut  
 20 accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montis, et metus ipse relucens flammae a capite calorque iam ad vivom ad imaque cornua veniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia  
 25 circa virgulta ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignis conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio  
 30 excessere; qua minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammam spi-

rantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientis ad lucem tenuit. In- 5 terea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

*Fabius follows the Carthaginians into Apulia, and leaves Minucius temporarily in command.*

XVIII. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens 10 certamine suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile — etenim numero aliquantum prae- stabant — Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea ad- 15 suetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupes- que aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestrum hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, 20 Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter 25 hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congregiendi. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra com- 30 muniit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam



fortunaē confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque  
 5 agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vinci desisse, ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus — haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

*In Spain Cn. Scipio surprises Hasdrubal's fleet at the mouth of the Ebro.*

XIX. Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in  
 10 Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiectis quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus naves prope terram, exercitum  
 15 in litore ducebat, paratus configere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad  
 20 naves inposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio flu-  
 25 minis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut inprovidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublati ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turris Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo con-  
 30 spectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem

promunturiis, cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantis, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu 5 esse. Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu trepunt ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, 10 cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque omnia ac prae-propere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non adpropinquabat 15 modo, sed derexerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, temptata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem. Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tum multis simul venientibus haud 20 sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae. 25

*The successes of the Romans cause Hasdrubal to retire into Lusitania.*

XX. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat, armataque aciem toto praetentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, navis omnis, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori inlitas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere, 30 ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant. Itaque ad

Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat, ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quòd satis in usum fuit sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta, cum in naves se recipissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui cis Hiberum incolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt, sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis populi, amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

*Hasdrubal returns near the Ebro to protect his allies, and is attacked by the Celtiberi.*

XXI. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquom aestatis tempus, fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut

tumultuariam manum, fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magnaue parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam Classem 5 erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae miserant legatos obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione excitati arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt; tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde cum ipso 10 Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

*P. Scipio arrives in Spain with a fleet. Spanish hostages, kept at Saguntum by the Carthaginians, are delivered to the Romans.*

XXII. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab 15 senatu, missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariorum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit; 20 ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodi 25 di praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatorum ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis, tum, qualia plerumque 30 sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat

fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione  
venientem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum vile atque  
infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum  
emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur  
5 omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, ob-  
sidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam  
rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum  
Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed cum iniussu Bostaris prae-  
fecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse,  
10 Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in  
ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte inter-  
cluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut  
ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continu-  
isse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul  
15 Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana  
esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res;  
itaque, quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia de-  
vinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quod-  
nam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, "Ob-  
20 sides" inquit "in civitates remitte; id et privatim pa-  
rentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis,  
et publice populis gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi,  
et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Mini-  
sterium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deponco  
25 ipse, ut opera quoque inpena consilium adiuvem meum  
et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam  
possim adiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia  
callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium  
stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis et  
30 ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret, expromit,  
et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto  
ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem  
absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam ac-  
cipiendis. Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias  
35 hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis  
horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti

ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re 5 pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim gravis superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu incognitus ante ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur 10 socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

*Unpopularity of Fabius. Hannibal spares his estates when plundering the country.*

XXIII. Haec in Hispania secunda aestate Punici 15 belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabi fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta 20 erat inter civis armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris; una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a 25 perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostilem abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset; altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non expectata in eo senatus auc- 30 toritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Ro-

manum Poenumque, ut quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset, argentumque pro eis  
 5 debitum saepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae  
 10 atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat simul castris praesidio et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

*In the absence of Fabius, Minucius gains a trifling victory.*

15 XXIV. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praeerat Minucius magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio. ducis  
 20 consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictis cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet, cum hostis  
 25 propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum se sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque  
 30 ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum, si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis brevior via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentis locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum deiecissent, ipsi eo

transferunt castra. Tum utique exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope conpleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Ne acie 5 certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Iamque artibus Fabi, sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam 10 auctores sunt: primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos, Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu 15 dictatoris octo milia peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praebuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos, Romanum inse- 20 cutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade vanam famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam. 25

*The people make Minucius equal in command with Fabius.*

XXV. De his rebus persaepe et in senatu et in con- tione actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enim vero ferendum esse 30 negat; non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare et in ducendo bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu im-



perium habeat; quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore praetore egeat. M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit; sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se laturnum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur, cum hostem verbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret, et magistro equitum quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consilii-que sit, prope diem effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce

orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat, prodire, et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis 5 C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.

*Varro's successful career as a demagogue. Fabius is not disturbed by the promotion of Minucius.*

XXVI. Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus 10 pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit. Quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, 15 plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consulatus spem cum adtolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petiit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in 20 exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam tulit, acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatusque consulto 25 de aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

*They divide the legions equally.*

XXVII. Minucius vero cum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset rebus secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique in- 30 modice inmodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab

se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem  
 5 civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque  
 10 quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quem ad modum imperio aequato utantur; se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut  
 15 par hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia eam fortunam habitura, quamcumque temeritas conlegae habuisset. Sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse;  
 20 itaque se numquam volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset,  
 25 inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt; item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia dividerunt. Castris quoque se separari magister equitum voluit.

*Minucius is tempted to battle and badly beaten.*

XXVIII. Duplex, inde Hannibali gaudium fuit — ne  
 30 que enim quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem; — nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabi

dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturum. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum 5 Minucio, quem procursum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla 10 talis fraus timeri poterat. Et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut 15 fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumultum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deprecare pellendos inde hostis ac locum capiendum; 20 dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit; deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal la- 25 borantibus suis alia atque alia increscente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum ex inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in suc- 30 cedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percussos inpavida sola erat, videbaturque, si iusta ac recta pugna esset, haudquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque

ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

*He is rescued by Fabius and acknowledges his fault.*

XXIX. Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est," inquit, 5 "non celerius quam timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte. Victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civi- 10 bus." Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. 15 Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, 20 inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta, cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis mili- 25 tibus, "Saepe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum, qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata 30 sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod

beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma ac dexteræ texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."

*He resumes his position as subordinate, and Fabius becomes popular at Rome.*

XXX. Signo dato, conclamatur inde, ut colligantur 5 vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes ad dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfususque militum eius totum 10 agmen patronos consalutasset, "Parentibus" inquit "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abro- 15 goque et, quod tibi mihique exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa hæc legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas." Tum dextræ 20 interiunctæ militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex 25 utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostisque Poenos erat; ac tum demum hi sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut 30 vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam a patribus acceperant. Hannibalem

quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

*Servilius' ineffectual invasion of Africa. Fabius resigns his command.*

- XXXI. Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius  
 5 Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque acceptis, in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ure-  
 10 retur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus  
 15 palantes et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum. Classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, tradita-  
 20 que Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Cincio Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabi accitus et ipse et conlega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semenstri imperio acciperent.  
 25 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse di-  
 30 cendi dictatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa tertia iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res

inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augmentis titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore creatus esset, fuisse dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

*The consuls continue his policy to the end of the year. Neapolitan embassy to Rome.*

XXXII. Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communis, quod reliquom autumnus erat Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant; adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie abundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relictas spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

15

Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediens constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venerunt. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent: scire sese populi Romani aerarium bello exhauriri, et, cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequom censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse obluros. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint, ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.



*Roman envoys sent to Macedonia to demand the surrender of Demetrius of Pharos, to Liguria to complain of the help given to Hannibal, and to Illyria to demand the unpaid tribute.*

XXXIII. Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisique manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent; in-  
 5 dici data libertas et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum, Macedonum regem, missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuissent, simul ad vi-  
 10 sendum ex propinquo, quae in Bois atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam ter-  
 15 rarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse; itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano C. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flaminius  
 20 aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem,  
 25 quam iussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule  
 30 dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum

dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit.

*Great excitement attends the choice of consuls for 216 B. C.*

XXXIV. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius inter- 5 regno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, volgus extrahere ad consu- 10 latum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam 15 eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari prospere posse apparuisset eo, quod 20 M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, 25 bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, 30 coepisse. Cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum

morando quaesisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae  
 5 esse, et populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

*Varro and Paulus are elected. Four former praetors are chosen again.*

XXXV. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Volsone, M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam  
 10 familiarum plebeis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando conlegae. Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium Paulum,  
 15 qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione conlegae, ex qua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitali die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam  
 20 conlega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita; creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus; Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter civis Romanos et peregrinos evenit. Additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec  
 25 cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium consulem mandatus honos quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

*Great increase of the army. New prodigies alarm the public mind.*

30 XXXVI. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt, Quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo

et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones 5 auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent peditis aequarent, quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam 10 prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator praeberat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territatos vulgo homines novis prodigiis; nam et 15 Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Caere aquas in fonte calido manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat. Et in via fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, aliquot ho- 20 mines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam adtulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae actae; aurum non acceptum.

*Envoys from Hiero bring gifts and a few choice troops.*

XXXVII. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia 25 cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque adlatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem 30 populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvare soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos

orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese; acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, 5 ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis; itaque misisse mille 10 sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti 15 daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regis legatis est: virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id 20 perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum gratia rei accepta non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Ro- 25 manae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittarii et frumentum traditum consulibus, quinquereemes ad . . . navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est, 30 ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

*Solemn oath taken by the newly levied soldiers. Boastfulness of Varro and despondency of Paulus.*

XXXVIII. Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando

ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulis conventuros neque iniussu abituros; et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant, sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut repetendi aut hostis ferendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum. 10

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. 15 Conlegae eius Pauli una pridie, quam urbe profisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis 20 nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset, qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus; se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praeceptum; 25 optare, ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius 30 Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.

*Fabius admonishes Paulus before his departure.*

XXXIX. "Si aut conlegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes, aut tu conlegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo

boni consules etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fideque vestra faceretis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et conlegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum  
5 omnis oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes;  
10 nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te, cum tu cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te  
15 sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter  
20 armatam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem,  
25 belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi; nec eventus modo hoc  
30 docet—stultorum iste magister est,—sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque, donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum  
35 sunt; armis, viris, equis, comitatibus iuvant iuvabuntque; id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus no-

stris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit; Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil 5 usquam sui videt; in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti, nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, 10 non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quam diu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet! Sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor; Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide, quem ad modum eum 15 ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas 20 oportet. Resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque conlegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, extinguere numquam; gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto, 25 tardum pro considerato, inbellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo, te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, suadeo, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; 30 tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis, neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca."



*Paulus' reply. Arriving before the enemy, the consuls form two camps.*

XL. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus conlegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum. Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.

Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem com meatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod conpertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

*The army's impatience is increased by success in a skirmish. Hannibal tries, by deserting his camp, to lure the Romans from their entrenchments.*

XLI. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohi-

bendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferenti secum milite castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit, transque proximos montis laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem mediam traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum inpeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictos in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

*Paulus restrains the army, and deserters betray Hannibal's design.*

XLII. Ubi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Tum satis conperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra relinquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri

iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura  
10 renuntiat insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castrorum, quae vergat in hostem, relictos, tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictas, argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit profisciscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti  
20 porta signa conlegae iussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis.  
25 Nam forte ita evenit, ut, cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos. Deductique  
30 ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

*Hannibal, short of provisions, moves southward, and encamps near Cannae.*

XLIII. Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex 5 conlutione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione 10 cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse ita, ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo ma- 15 turiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia inpeditoria levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem 20 Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montis exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante semper fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo 25 praeter Servilium, prioris anni consulem, adsentiretur, ex maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturmo vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum 30 ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

*The Romans follow, and again form two camps.*

XLIV. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divis.  
5 Aufidius amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidium erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Han-  
10 nibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procur- satione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus  
15 Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a conlega teneri,  
20 ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore, diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua prompta ac  
25 temeraria, aequae in pugna vigerent manus.

*The battle of Cannae. Arrangement of the Roman forces.*

XLV. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris  
30 Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore

ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne ex-  
templo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Ro-  
manos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. 5  
Itaque postero die Varro, cuius sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto conlega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvere consilium poterat. 10  
Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites ad medium 15  
iuncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

*Order of battle of the Punic army.*

XLVI. Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus levique alia 20  
armatura praemissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat; Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum, dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque 25  
cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis 30  
praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum

cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat; Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steteret  
 5 in acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita steteret, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat,  
 10 Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem versis. Ventus — Volturnum regionis incolae vocant — adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

*The Roman cavalry is driven off the field. The legions, at first apparently successful, are entirely surrounded by the enemy.*

XLVII. Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et  
 15 pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrat, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis, hinc  
 20 peditum acies claudebant. In directum utrimque nitentes stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga  
 25 vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum  
 30 validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum

aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio 5 dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostis. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros 10 integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

*Stratagem of the Numidians on the Punic right wing.*

XLVIII. Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum 15 proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante 20 pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos 25 caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites cadentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Has- 30 drubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientis mittit, Hispanos



et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

*Paulus, trying to rally the troops, is killed. Enormous loss of the Romans.*

XLIX. Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrat saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omis-  
 10 sissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse  
 15 Hannibalem ferunt "Quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet!" Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt ta-  
 20 men iam paucos superantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore op-  
 25 pletum consulem vidisset, "L. Aemili" inquit, "quem unum insontem culpa cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest, et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad  
 30 ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant, ac, priusquam hostis victor advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Memet in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim

ut accusator conlegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam." Haec eos agentis prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse 5 fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium in- 10 sertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, et tantadem prope civium sociorumque pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibacu- 15 lus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriiue et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat, — octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magi- 20 stratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

*Some remnants of the beaten army escape to Canusium by night.*

L. Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius 30 morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris cum multitudo semierrmis sine ducibus esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies

nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent; uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, cum aequae coniungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum "Capi ergo mavultis" inquit "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux, maioraque hostium agmina obsepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque inconpositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostis. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstat, disicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis." Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostis. Et cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iaculantur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animorum, quos ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

*Maharbal urges an immediate movement upon Rome. The horrors of the battle-field.*

LI. Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratulantur suaderentque, ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod relicum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi

sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto" inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam." Hannibali 5 nimis laeta res est visa maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait, ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere; vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti 10 nescis." Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equites- 15 que, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantis cervicem iugulumque 20 et relicum sanguinem iubentes haurire. Inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Ro- 25 mano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum ille manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem expirasset.

*Surrender of some Romans in their camps. Kindness shown the fugitives at Canusium.*

LII. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum 30 brachio obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque

- equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis acceperunt, traditique in custodiam
- 5 omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium per-
- 10 fugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem conditione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti — quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur
- 15 — omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.
- 20 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

*Young P. Scipio suppresses a plot of some young nobles to desert their country.*

- 25 LIII. Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio, et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat,
- 30 omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adulescentem et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequi-

quam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam conploratamque rem esse publicam; nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum principem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super 5 tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse; irent secum 10 extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli et, cum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus adlatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio 15 "Ex mei animi sententia" inquit, "ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me Iuppiter optimus maximus domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. In haec verba, M. Caecili, iures 20 postulo ceterique qui adestis; qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat." Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

*Varro unites the remnants of the army at Canusium. Exaggerated reports at Rome.*

LIV. Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, 25 Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos 30 vicanos et pediti denos, et arma quibus deerant dederunt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusi-

nus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam ad decem milia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitantumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulibus exercitum deletasque omnes copias adlatum fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque, ne succumbam oneri, neque adgrediar narrare, quae edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Conparet aut cladem ad Aegatis insulas Carthaginensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, et vectigalis ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

*The Senate assembles, and order is restored to the city.*

LV. P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in malis

sicuti ingentibus, ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos promiscue conplorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando — aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore — referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit, et, si quid di immortales, miseriti imperii, relicum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post prociū contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, conploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectet, custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

*Tidings come at last from Varro. The Senate shortens the period of mourning. Bad news from Sicily.*

LVI. Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnesissent, submotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a C. Terentio consule adlatae sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem. Ad decem milia militum ferme esse inconpositorum inordinatorumque. Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis praedaeque alia nec victoris animo nec



magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec  
 5 ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper  
 10 ex Sicilia litterae adlatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore: regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui cum opem inploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracu-  
 15 sanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

*Execution of two Vestals. Human sacrifices are offered. Reinforcements are sent to the army, and new levies raised.*

LVII. Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis, censuerunt  
 20 praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam  
 25 super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri conpertae, et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cantilius, scriba pontificius, quos nunc mi-  
 30 nores pontifices adpellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset,

decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae 5 Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, inbutum.

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Mar- 10 cellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica — ea legio tertia erat — cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum prae- 15 missa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo conlegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item 20 ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo milia iuvenum validorum ex ser- 25 vitiis prius sciscitantes singulos, vellente militare, empti publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

*Hannibal's treatment of his prisoners. The captive Romans send to the capital to ask a ransom.*

LVIII. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum geren- 30 tis intentus curis, cum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quo-

que vocatos quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cecidisse, et se id adniti, ut  
 5 suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecentos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant de-  
 10 dentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut iurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginien-  
 15 ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris furandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum  
 20 est, Carthalonem obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

*Speech of their envoys before the Senate.*

LIX. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps "M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti," inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati  
 25 viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii umquam minus neglegendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes  
 30 cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei relicum ac noctem insequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua

arceremur, nec ulla iam per confertos hostis erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti dimitteremur, 5 arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et 10 ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannensis campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, 15 qui ne in acie quidem fuere, sed praesidio castris relictis, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut conditioni invidео, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim; ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis 20 pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriaeque sint in se plus quam in nobis presidii rei publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus utemi et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est. Nec maiore pretio redimi possumus, 30 quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho, 35 videlicet, qui hospitum numero captivos habuit, an

barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis  
5 stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum  
10 ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam  
15 remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum;  
20 magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

*Manlius Torquatus opposes the request of the captives.*

LX. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque  
25 ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbae virorum immiscuerat. Senatus submotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam  
30 publice inpensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque vide-

batur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: "Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dederint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli 10 accum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, 15 quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem milia armorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes 20 possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium 25 esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter 30 medios duceret hostis, dixit: 'Moriatur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis ex- 35 titisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad

salutem ferentem demonstrat, reduces in patriam, ad  
parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini,  
deest vobis animus; quid, si moriendum pro patria  
esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque  
5 circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla  
virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit; si tanta  
clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi  
atque incolumes desiderate patriam, immo desiderate,  
dum patria est, dum cives eius estis: sero nunc desi-  
10 deratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi  
Carthaginensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde  
ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem ves-  
trum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem,  
Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma  
15 tradi iubentem. Quamquam quid ego ignaviam istorum  
accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim  
sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac re-  
tinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi in-  
ertes submovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per  
20 civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum.  
Hos cives patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes  
fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugna-  
verunt, civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum  
sescenti extiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in pa-  
25 triam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis  
hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope le-  
gionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis ho-  
die viginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres  
conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni  
30 fidelesque — nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint — cives  
esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest aut favisse  
erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt,  
aut non invidere eos cum incolumitati tum gloriae  
illorum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviam-  
35 que servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Malue-  
runt in tēntoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem

expectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae 5 deessent adfectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimamus? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum 15 manere, castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostis e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restitue- 20 runt."

*The Senate decides not to redeem the prisoners. The Romans are deserted by many of their allies.*

LXI. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines 25 movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super 30 veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam persecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci re-



ditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

5 Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primo venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur. Morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tris insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C.  
10 Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tris ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina  
15 captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvisset; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint; ceterum proxumis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam  
20 eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus  
25 fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re, quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites  
30 praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis umquam mentio apud Romanos  
35 fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis.

Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, ni- 5  
hil recusandum supplicii foret.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

---

- A.** . . . Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar.  
**H.** . . . Harkness's Latin Grammar.  
**G.** . . . Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar.  
**Wsb.** . . Weissenborn's Livy (annotated edition).

## NOTES.

---

**PREFACE. Page 1. 1. Facturusne operae pretium sim :** 'whether I shall accomplish something worth the trouble,' i. e. something of real merit and value; cf. *Non operae est*,<sup>1</sup> 'it is not worth while,' p. 30, l. 3. *Facturus sim*, A. 334, a; H. 529, II., 4; G. 469. Quintilian (Inst. Orat. 9, 4, 74) remarks that Livy begins his preface with part of a hexameter verse. Such metrical lines, considered as a fault in prose writers, were doubtless unconscious and accidental. Cf. p. 196, l. 22; *Haec ubi dicta dedit*, etc., a hexameter and a half. **a primordio :** he is about to write of Roman history as a whole, not of a single portion, like Caesar or Sallust. **2. perscripserim :** the perfect subjunctive here in *oratio obliqua* represents the future perfect indicative of *oratio recta*. This, being a clause of protasis, is, of course, a dependent clause. A. 336, 2, 337, 307, c; H. 525, 2; G. 653, 659, 661. **si sciam :** 'if I should know;' the supposition is regarded not as contrary to fact, but as possible. A. 307; H. 509; G. 598. **3. ausim :** archaic, for *ausus sim* : this form is not generally used in prose. Similar forms are *faxo* and *faxim*, which are often used by Livy. These are perhaps in reality aorists subjunctive and optative, analogous to the  $\sigma$  aorists in Greek. A. 136, a; H. 240, 4; G. 191, 5. **quippe qui . . . videam** 'inasmuch as I see.' A. 320, e; H. 517, 3, 1); G. 636. **4. rem :** 'the undertaking.' **dum :** not merely temporal, but introducing a reason for the preceding statement. **semper :** construe with *novi*; the idea is *novi semper existunt auctores qui credunt*. **5. in rebus certius aliquid :** 'something more authentic in the way of fact.' **6. rudem vetustatem :** 'the inartistic simplicity of the ancients.' **Utumque erit :** 'how-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Class. Review, October, 1894, p. 345.

ever this may be,' i. e. however my success may be judged. A. 316; G. 628. **7. memoriae**: dative; construe with *consuluisse*. **principis terrarum populi**: 'of the leading nation of the world.'

**8. pro virili parte**: 'to the best of my ability,' 'as far as in me lies.' Cf. the English colloquial 'like a man.' **9. in obscuro sit**: a favorite form of expression with Livy; instead of the simple predicate adjective we have the neuter singular used substantively with a preposition. **11. Res est praeterea**, etc.: the second ground for hesitancy in undertaking the work. We notice here a confusion between the history and its subject, both signified by *res*. **ut quae . . . repetatur**: 'since it reaches back,' or 'must be traced back.' Cf. note on *videam*, l. 3. **12. quae . . . creverit**: in this second relative clause *res* takes on a new sense; it is no longer the historian's undertaking, but the empire itself, the subject of his work.

**14. labore**: 'is burdened;' its vastness has become a source of weakness. **et legentium**, etc.: a third ground of hesitancy. This *et* corresponds to the *et* before *inmensi*, l. 11. **15. quin . . . praebitura . . . sint**: A. 319, *d*; H. 500, II., 501, II., 2; G. 551, 2. **16. festinantibus**: dative, agrees with *plerisque*, l. 14. **haec**: i. e. contemporary with the writer. **18. contra**: adverb. **ut . . . avertam**: an object substantive clause, in apposition with *praemium*. A. 331; H. 498; G. 546. **19. malorum**: i. e. the civil wars of the last generation. **21. curae**: A. 218, *a*; H. 399, I., 3; G. 373. In dealing with recent events, an historian could scarcely help offending many of his contemporaries, inasmuch as the era of the civil wars had just closed. These wars had caused the utmost bitterness, and it was impossible to discuss the period from any point of view in a manner that would please everybody.

**22. posset**: imperfect subjunctive in apodosis, where a protasis contrary to fact is implied; i. e. 'could render the mind anxious, if the writer were not *expers curae*.' A. 308, 310; H. 510; G. 599, 602. Translate: 'which otherwise might,' etc. **23. ante conditam condendamve urbem**: 'before the city was founded or should be founded;' i. e. not everything that occurred before the foundation of Rome is to be considered, but simply those things that necessarily preceded its foundation

and had some relation thereto. The first expression, being too broad and general, is limited by the second. We might translate 'founded or planned.' **poeticis magis . . . monumentis**: 'suitable rather to the fictitious tales of poets than to reliable records of history.' A. 234, *a*; H. 391, I.; G. 356. Or, 'tricked out with poets' tales rather than (resting on) authentic memorials of history.' *Fabulis* and *monumentis* would then be ablatives.

**Page 2. 1. traduntur**: 'are handed down (by tradition) as having occurred.' **5. ea** = *talīs*, or *tanta*. **7. potissimum**: 'in preference to all others.' **ferat**: 'claims;' subjunctive in intermediate clause (attraction). A. 342; H. 529, II.; G. 666. **tam**: construe with *aequo*. **10. haud in magno . . . discrimine**: 'I shall not consider of any great importance.' **mihi**: ethical dative. A. 236; H. 389; G. 351. 'What I wish is that each one,' etc. **12. artibus**: 'methods.'

**13. labente deinde . . . etc.**: 'then let him follow with his attention the character of the people, giving way as the tone of public morality declined, then (observe) how it began more and more to sink, and at last began to fall headlong in ruin, until one comes down to the present age, in which we can endure neither the evils of our time nor their remedies.' The metaphor is that of a building which settles at its foundations, then decays, and finally collapses in a heap of ruins. The objects of *sequatur*, I. 15, are the noun *mores* and the two following indirect questions *ut lapsi . . . sint . . . coeperint*; *ut* being here interrogative. A. 334; H. 529, I.; G. 469. **17. remedia**: the cure for the desperate social and political evils of the time was the empire, established on the ruins of the republic, monarchy substituted for anarchy. To many the remedy seemed as intolerable as the disease. Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, IV. 42. It is well known that there was great opposition to the reforms of Augustus. **18. illud**: predicate. **rerum**: 'of history.'

**19. omnis . . . exempli documenta**: 'useful examples for every occasion.' **te**: 'you;' indefinite, 'one.' **20. tibi tuaeque rei publicae**: 'for yourself and for your state;' the moral and political lessons of history are both indicated. **21. quod imitere capias**: 'you may choose what to imitate.'

*inceptu . . . exitu* : A. 253; H. 424; G. 398. **22. quod vites** (*capias*) : 'you may understand what to avoid.' *imitere, vites* : A. 317, 2; H. 497, 1; G. 545, 1. **24. sanctior** : 'purer.' *nec in quam . . .* : 'nor was there ever a state into which,' etc.

**25. serae** : adjective used adverbially. *inmigraverint* : A. 320, *a*; H. 503, 1; G. 634. **26. paupertati** : 'poverty'; *par-simoniae* : 'frugality.' **28. Nuper** : especially since the time of Sulla. Cf. Sall. Cat. 10. **29. desiderium . . . pereundi perdendique . . .** etc. : paronomasia and oxymoron; it is not meant that men really have such a wish, but that they act as if they had it. *luxum* : actual indulgence in extravagance and luxury, manifested outwardly; *luxuria* is the corresponding inward tendency of character. **32. initio . . . ordiendae** : pleonasm. **34. si . . . esset . . . inciperemus** : A. 308; H. 510; G. 599. *nobis* : i. e. historians. **35. orsis** (*nobis*) : dative. *tantum operis* = *tantum opus*, direct object of *orsis*.

BOOK I. Page 3; CHAP. I. **1. satis constat** : 'it is generally agreed.' Livy gives the commonly accepted account; but here, as in other places where he uses this expression, he is not to be understood as vouching for the truth of the story. **2. saevitum esse**, etc. : 'that cruelty was vented upon the rest of the Trojans;' i. e. they were massacred. A passive impersonal; A. 230; H. 465, 1; G. 199, R. 1. **duobus** : A. 229, 235; H. 385, 2. Notice Livy's fondness for the dative of reference, and sparing use of prepositions. **Aeneae Antenorique** : the former, the founder (through one of his descendants) of Rome, the historian's mother city; the latter, of Patavium, his birthplace. The two heroes are closely connected in Il. ii. 822. **3. iure hospitii** : Antenor had entertained Menelaus and Ulysses when they came to ask for the restoration of Helen. Il. iii. 207. **reddendaeque Helenae** : Antenor advised the return of Helen. Il. vii. 350, sqq. **4. omne ius belli abstinuisse** : 'refrained from every exercise of the right of conquest;' the laws of war, as then understood, permitted the killing, maiming, or enslavement of captives. **5. deinde** : connect this word with *variis*, 'diverging thenceforward.'

**6. Enētum** : our author has a preference for the syncopated form of genitive plural. Pylaemēnes, king of the Enēti, allies

of the Trojans, coming from Paphlagonia, was slain by Menelaus; cf. *Il. v. 576*. **seditione**: 'civil discord'; from *sē-dire*; *sē* or *sēd* = without, apart; cf. *sē-curus*, *sē-cerno*. **7. ad Troiam**: 'before Troy'; *Troiae* would mean 'in Troy.' **8. venisse**: cf. *Verg. Aen. i. 242, sqq.* **9. Euganeisque**: of unknown origin; their name is preserved in the Euganean hills, near Padua. **10. in quem . . . locum**: translate, *Locus, in quem*, etc. The relative clause standing first, the antecedent, as usual, is attracted into it and assimilated in case with the relative pronoun. *A. 200*; *H. 445, 9*; *G. 618*. **12. Troiano**: attracted to the case of *pago*, instead of agreeing with *nomen*. This is customary in giving names. *A. 231, b*; *H. 387, N. 1*; *G. 322*. **appellati** here agrees with the predicate nominative rather than with the subject. The real origin of the Veneti is uncertain. **13. ab**: 'in consequence of.' **domo**: why no preposition? *A. 258, 1, a*; *H. 412, II., 1*; *G. 411*. **ad maiora rerum initia**: a case of hypallage; *maiora* should properly agree with *rerum*, and is to be translated accordingly. For this figure cf. p. 7, *ll. 4, 5*, and p. 13, l. 24. **14. in Macedoniam**: where he founded the city of Aenea on the peninsula of Pallene.

**15. in Siciliam**: to Egesta. **16. tenuisse**: sc. *cursum* or some similar word as direct object. This infinitive clause is subject of *constat*, l. 1. **Laurentem agrum**: a strip of the Latin coast from the Tiber southward to Lavinium, the vicinity of Laurentum. **Troia**: the ordinary construction would make this a dative. Cf. *Troiano*, above, l. 12; the position is emphatic. **17. ut quibus . . . superesset**: a causal relative clause. *A. 320, e*; *H. 517, 3, 1*; *G. 627, R., 636*. **18. immenso**: 'unmeasured, infinite'; Milton says: "Of amplitude almost immense." **20. Aborigines**: (*ab, origine*), yet the Sicili are spoken of as earlier inhabitants, a branch of the great Latin stock, found later in Southwestern Italy and in Sicily. **23. adfinitatem**: connection by marriage, while blood-relationship is *consanguinitas*.

**Page 4. 1. signa canerent**: *signa* is nominative; 'the signals (i. e. the trumpets) sounded.' **3. percunctatum**: as well as *admiratum*, l. 9, perfect participle (not infinitive), agreeing with the subject of *sanxisse*, l. 11. **4. mortales**: poetic for *homines*. **6. postquam audierit**: a subordinate clause



of *oratio obliqua* requires its verb in the subjunctive. A. 336; H. 524; G. 653. Moritz Müller remarks that *postquam* oftener takes the perfect than the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*, when depending on a perfect infinitive. Cf. p. III, l. 17, *transierit*. 7. *cremata patria*: this ablative absolute expresses both the time and cause of their emigration. *patria*, 'native city.' 9. *vel: (volo)*; i. e. 'whichever you please,' expresses the utmost freedom of choice between alternatives. 11. *foedus iotum: iotum* because the making of a league or treaty was solemnized by slaying (*icere*) an animal in sacrifice.

13. *penates*: guardians of the *penus*, house-provision; then guardians of the family; the state considered as an enlarged family had its *Penates* also. 15. *Ea res utique*: 'this fact at last.' 16. *sede*: ablative of means rather than of place. 17. *Lavinium*: the religious centre of the Latin confederacy, because it was the home of the Penates of Latium, where in later times the Roman consuls and praetors had to sacrifice to Vesta and the Penates, on entering and on quitting office. *Brevi*: sc. *tempore*. 18. *stirpis*: nominative, though not the usual form.

CHAP. II. 20. *simul*: omitted in the latest editions of Wsb.; the word is found in the MSS. except M. 21. *Rutulorum*: an Umbro-Sabellian people of ancient Latium, whose capital was Ardea. *pacta . . . fuerat*: this form of pluperfect is very frequent in Livy. 25. *Latinum*: he was, according to tradition, afterward worshipped as *Iuppiter Latiaris*. 26. *florentes*: Nägelsbach, Lat. Stil., p. 362; the metaphor is the same in English. The Etruscan empire in early times extended as far south as Campania. 27. *Caere*: most probably locative ablative; the omission of *in* before *opulento oppido* is hardly conclusive proof that its appositive *Caere* is dative after *imperitans*, a case which nowhere else appears. Cf. *Praeneste*, p. 142, l. 6. 28. *imperitans*: notice our author's excessive fondness for frequentative or intensive verbs. 29. *minime*: 'by no means,' amounting, as usual, to an emphatic negative. *nimio*: A. 250; H. 417, 2; G. 400. 31. *haud*: *haud* usually negatives a particular word, *non* a proposition in general; hence *haud* is chiefly and most properly used with adjectives and adverbs. *gravatim*: the termination *-im* appearing in many

adverbs, a form of which our author is particularly fond, is an old accusative case-ending. A few of these adverbs, e. g. *partim*, are true accusatives; the rest, formations by analogy. Cf. p. 97, l. 10, *gravate*, the usual form. *socia*: proleptic; 'in alliance.'

**Page 5.** 1. *nec*: as often in Livy, = *et ne*, correlative with *ut*, p. 4, l. 32. 2. *Latinos*: it is much more likely that the king's name was derived from that of the nation. 3. *Troianis*: dative. *studio ac fide*: A. 253; H. 424; G. 398. 4. *in dies*: 'day by day,' denotes a process. 'Every day' = *cotidie*. 10. *inde proelium*: 'the battle which ensued.' 11. *quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est*: 'whatever by human and divine law it is right that he be called.' The author scruples to speak more definitely: in being buried, Aeneas appears a mortal; as Jupiter Indiges, he appears a god. 12. *super Numicum*: 'on the banks of the Numicus' (or Numicius), a small stream flowing into the sea a few miles south of the Tiber. 13. *indigētem (indu, gen, gigno)*: the Indigetes, "native" gods, were deities exercising protection over certain localities. This Jupiter or Pater Indiges was probably the river god Numicus, thought of as an ancient king of that valley (cf. Tiberinus and the Tiber river, p. 6, ll. 12, 13), worshipped as a hero after his death in this locality, and later identified with Aeneas. The inscription on the so-called *herdum* of Aeneas, according to Dionysius, was, Παρὸς Θεοῦ Χθονίου ὁς Ποταμοῦ Νομίκου 'Ρεῦμα διέπει; i. e. Divi Patris Indigetis, qui Numici amnis undas temperat. *Vide* Preller, Röm. Mythol. 80 sqq.

CHAP. III. 14. *imperio*: A. 234; H. 391, 1.; G. 356. The dative with *maturus* is rather poetic and post-classical. 19. *adfirmet*: dubitative subjunctive. A. 268; H. 484, v.; G. 468. 21. *quem Iulium eundem*: 'whom, as he also was named Iulus,' etc. 24. *multitudine*: 'population.' 26. *sub Albano monte*: 'at the foot of the Alban mountain,' now Monte Cavo (3147 ft. high), 18 miles from Rome and plainly visible thence. The city, of which no traces remain, lay between the base of the mountain and the Alban Lake. 27. *porrectae*: generally applied to horizontal extension, as here. 28. *Longa Alba*: *Longa* is emphasized by being placed first, reversing the usual

order. The length of the city is here the point of special attention. The name is usually understood as the Long White Town, but some prefer to derive Alba from  $\sqrt{\text{ALB}} = \sqrt{\text{TEB}}$ , i. e. a height, a mountain, Oscan *teba*; cf. *Tibur*, *Tebae*, *Alpes*. **29. Lavinium**: sc. *conditum*. **30. triginta . . . anni**: cf. the prediction of the Tiber god to Aeneas. Aen. viii. 43, sqq.:

“A sow beneath an oak shall lie along,  
All white herself, and white her thirty young.  
When thirty rolling years have run their race,  
Thy son Ascanius, on this empty space,  
Shall build a royal town of lasting fame,  
Which from this omen shall receive the name.”

DRYDEN'S TR.

But it is more natural to interpret this as representing Alba and the thirty Latin cities, than a period of thirty years. **ferme**: ‘about,’ not ‘almost.’ **tamen**: notwithstanding the short interval.

**Page 6. 1. morte**: temporal. **2. muliebrem . . . puerilis**: notice the fondness of the Latin for an adjective where we use a noun in the genitive. **4. ausi sint**: Livy frequently uses a perfect where we should expect an imperfect subjunctive. The perfect expresses the time relation looked at from the writer's standpoint rather than with reference to the tense of the principal verb. This imparts an air of great liveliness to the sentence. Cf. p. 20, l. 26. For a different explanation, see Roby's Lat. Gram., 1516. **5. Albula**: the “whitish” river (unless we follow a similar etymology to that suggested for *Alba*), owing to the character of the soil through which it flows. Cf. Horace's *flavus Tiberis*, ‘the yellow Tiber.’ The other etymology would give the same meaning for *Albula* and *Tiberis*, ‘mountain stream.’<sup>1</sup> **7. in silvis natus**: a fair specimen of the etymological myth, so dear to the Romans, of which innumerable examples occur in Livy's earlier books. **9. Prisci Latini**: i. e. the people of the Latin towns older than Rome, as distinguished from the later “Latin colonies” all over Italy. Livy evidently takes the thirty Latin towns for colonies of Alba; cf. p. 63, ll. 13, 14.

**10. cognomen**: strictly speaking, it was their *nomen* (*gentile*). This altogether imaginary list of kings was needed to fill the

<sup>1</sup> Vide Ampère, L'Histoire Romaine à Rome, vol. I., ch. II.

interval between the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome, which Vergil (Aen. i. 265 sqq.) makes 333 years; i. e. three for the reign of Aeneas, thirty for Ascanius, and three hundred for the Alban dynasty before Romulus. The accepted dates 1184 and 753 B. C. would make the interval a century longer. **13. ad posteros**: construe with *celebre*; *flumini*, with *dedit*; *ad* here = *apud*. **15. Aventino**: dative. **16. per manus tradidit**: 'handed down.' **17. Romanae . . . urbis**: more sonorous and statelier than the usual *Romae*. **18. Proca**: the Greek form *Procas* is more usual. **19. maximus**: sc. *natu*, superlative here used in speaking of two. **21. aetatis**: his brother's superior age. A. 217; H. 396, III.; G. 361, 2. **23. Reae**: dative after *adimit* instead of ablative of separation. A. 229; H. 385, II., 2; G. 346. The word is explained as *rea*, 'the culprit,' alluding to her loss of chastity, or *rea voti*, 'under the obligation of a vow;' the spelling *Rhea* suggests the Phrygian goddess and the supposed Trojan extraction of the Silvii. **24. Vestalem**: the worship of Vesta was common to all the Latins. Her altar, with its ever-burning fire, was the family hearth of the state, from which the household fires were kindled at certain dates. It was tended by the Vestal Virgins, who were looked upon as the cherished daughters of the nation. Upon this subject in general, consult the interesting chapter in Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, chap. vi.

CHAP. IV. **27. secundum**: preposition; 'next after.' **29. seu ita rata**: 'either because she believed the fact to be so.' **honestior**: 'more creditable' to herself. **30. incertae = spuriae**. **31. regia**: cf. *muliebrem, puerilis*, above, II. 2, 3.

**Page 7. 1. Sacerdos**: she was punished because she was a priestess. **2. profluentem aquam**: 'into the current of the stream.' **iubet**: sc. *rex*. **3. divinitus**: 'by some providential chance.' Livy frequently uses an adverb for an attributive adjective. **Tiberis**, etc.: order, *Tiberis, effusus super ripas lenibus stagnis nec usquam adiri poterat ad cursum iusti amnis et spem dabat ferentibus*, etc.; *adiri* is here used transitively. **4. ad iusti cursum . . . amnis**: i. e. *ad iustum cursum amnis*; hypallage. **6. imperio**: A. 249; H. 421, I.; G. 405. **7. in proxima eluvie**: 'at the edge of the overflow.' **Ruminalis**;

Rumina was the goddess of suckling; *ruma* = *mamma*. The Ficus Ruminalis stood on the slope of the Palatine Hill, toward the Tiber, near the Lupercal cave. **8. Romularem**: a false notion of later times. **Vastae**: 'waste' or 'wild'; 'vast' is quite a secondary meaning; cf. *vastare*, devastate. **10. quo**: instrumental rather than locative ablative. **tenuis**: 'shallow.'

**15. Faustulo**: from  $\sqrt{\text{FAV}}$  (*faveo*) and  $\sqrt{\text{TUL}}$  (*tuli*, *opi-tulari*); identical with Faustus, or Faunus, an ancient pastoral divinity; and *Larentia* is no other than Acca Larentia, mother of the *Lares*, guardian spirits of the Roman land. **16. qui . . . putent**: relative clause of characteristic; A. 320, *a*; H. 503, I.; G. 634. **17. vulgato corpore**: ablative absolute; 'by reason of her prostitution.' **18. fabulae ac miraculo**: hendiadys; 'for the marvellous tale.' **20. nec . . . segnes**: concessive. **ad pecora**: i. e. when they were at pasture. **peragrar** and the subsequent infinitives are historical; this usage is most frequent where verbs are crowded together in rapid narration. **22. subsistere**: transitive; 'they lay in wait for.' **24. seria**: such encounters as are mentioned above; *iocos*, sports, such as are mentioned in the next chapter. **25. celebrare**: 'they engaged continually or habitually in.'

CHAP. V. **26. Lupercal hoc**: 'the present, now existing Lupercal.' Lupercus (*lupus*, *arceo*), "Warder-off of the Wolf," originally a god of shepherds, carrying us back to the pastoral age of civilization. *Lupercal* generally means the cave of Lupercus, on the Palatine near the Ficus Ruminalis; here it means the annual festival held in his honor on February 15th. **28. Palatium**: from  $\sqrt{\text{PA}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{PAL}}$  (*pasco*, *Pales*) = 'pasture'; the etymology in the text is quite fanciful. **29. genere**: i. e. *gente*, the Arcadian tribe living about Pallanteum. **tempestatibus**: poetic for *temporibus*; A. 250; H. 417, 2; G. 400, R. 3. **30. tenuerit**: we should expect the imperfect. **sollemne**: substantive; *sollemnis*, if from *sollus* = *totus*, and *annus*, means 'annually recurring'; but with regard to the etymology of this word *vide* King and Cookson, Sounds and Inflections in Greek and Latin, p. 189. **ut . . . current**: substantive clause, appositive to *sollemne*. A. 329, 332; H. 501, III.; G. 508, A, II., 2, 557. **31. Lycaeum Pana**: Pan was worshipped by shepherds on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. *Inuus* (*in*, *eo*, god of copulation of cattle) and *Luper-*

*cus* seem to be only different names for Faunus, who corresponds substantially with the Greek Pan.

**Page 8.** 2. *deditis*: dative; sc. *iis* or *pastoribus*, from the last sentence of Chapter IV. 3. *insidiator*: agrees with *latrones*, subject of *cepisse*. 5. *ultro*: 'beyond,' then beyond what is naturally expected or decent, 'outrageously,' 'impudently.' *Crimini*: a so-called dative of service. A. 233; H. 390; G. 350. 6. *iis*: Romulus and Remus. 7. *praedas agere*: the Latin equivalent of 'cattle-lifting;' the cattle are driven, not carried; cf. *ἀγειν καὶ φέρειν*, applied to animate and inanimate plunder. 9. *regiam*: this is the emphatic word, specifying the nature of Faustulus' hope.

11. *et tempus, quo . . . congruere*: 'and that the time when he himself had rescued them, exactly corresponded with that time.' *Congruere* is usually followed by the dative. 15. *Numitori*: dative of reference qualifying the whole statement in a more remote and general way, instead of a possessive genitive modifying *animus*. 16. *geminos*: predicate; first because emphatic. 18. *eodem pervenit*: 'had arrived at the same conclusion' (as Faustulus). 19. *esset*: impersonal; its subject is the clause *quin . . . agnosceret*. A. 332; H. 501, I.; G. 558. 21. *par ad*: 'strong enough for.' 22. *aliis alio itinere*: 'some by one way, some by another.' 23. *ad regem*: *in regem* would be more natural.

CHAP. VI. 27. *pubem*: the young men of military age. 28. *in arcem . . . obtinendam*: 'into the citadel, to hold it.' *praesidio armisque*: hendiadys = *praesidio armato*. *avocasset*, 'had called them away' from the protection of the king. 31. *ut . . . ut . . . ut*: interrogatives.

**Page 9.** 1. *deinceps*: attributive to *caedem*, like an adjective. *Numitor . . . ostendit*: a perfect example of the periodic sentence, with all modifying elements and subordinate clauses standing between the subject of the principal clause, which is the first word, and its verb, which is the last. *Se . . . auctorem . . . ostendit*, 'assumed the responsibility.' 2. *agmine*: Madvig, Lat. Gr. 258, Obs. 2. 4. *ratum . . . efficit*: 'confirmed.' 6. *re*: sc. *publica*. 8. *supererat multitudo*: 'the population was excessive.' 9. *ad id . . .*

**accesserant, qui . . . facerent**: 'to this (excess of numbers in Alba) the shepherds also were to be added, so that all together they readily created a hope that,' etc. *Qui . . . facerent*: a clause of result. A. 319, 2; H. 500, 1; G. 633. **10. par-vam . . . parvum**: repetition for emphasis. **13. inde = ex ea, i. e. cupidine.**

**14. essent . . . posset**: reasons stated not as facts, but as influencing the minds of the brothers. A. 340, 341, *d*; H. 516, II.; G. 541. **15. tutelae**: 'under whose protection,' a

predicative genitive of possession, characteristic of Livy. A. 214, *c*; H. 401, 402, 403. **16. essent**: subjunctive in a

clause logically subordinate to *legerent*. A. 342; H. 529, II.; G. 666. **auguriis**: *augur* is from *avis* and a root which has

disappeared from Latin and seems to have meant 'to announce.' **qui . . . qui**: strictly *uter* should be used, as but two persons are in question. *Qui* is sometimes used for *quis*, especially in dependent questions. Madvig, Lat. Gr. 88, Obs. I. **18. templa**: not object of *inaugurandum*, but sec-

ondary object of *capiunt*. *Templum* (*tempulum*, diminutive of *tempus*) from the same root as *τέμνω, τέμνω*, is a definite space marked out by certain boundaries, here for the purpose of taking auspices; it meant also the consecrated space where a deity was worshipped, and later the building put up in such an enclosure, a 'temple.'

CHAP. VII. **19. Priori**: emphatic by its position. **Remo**: dative of advantage; the birds did not come *to* him, but appeared *for* him in the sky. **22. Tempore . . . praecepto**:

'by priority of time;' limited, like *numero*, by *avium*. **23. reg-num trahebant**: 'claimed the sovereignty.'

**24. certamine irarum**: 'in their angry strife.' **Ibi**: 'therefore;' circum-

stantial rather than local. **26. transiluisse muros**: city walls had a peculiar sanctity among the Latins, so this action was not only a deadly insult but a sacrilege. *Murus*, the general term for wall; *moenia*, the special word for a wall of fortification. **27. verbis quoque increpitans**: 'upbraiding him with words also'—as well as striking him. **Sic deinde**,

etc.: sc. *pereat* or a similar expression. **31. Palatium**:

*Roma Quadrata*, the original city of the Ramnes, nearly "square," was on the Palatine Hill, where traces of its walls still exist. **muniit**: Madvig, Lat. Gr. 113, *b*. **32. Albano ritu**,

**Graeco:** the Greeks sacrificed *aperto capite*, the Latins *velato capite*; the Latins burned the *exta* of the victims, the Greeks ate them at the sacrificial feast. **Euandro:** (εὐ, ἀνήρ, ἀνδρός) probably Faunus, appearing as an exile from Greece and under another name. Like Pan, he comes from Arcadia.

**Page 10. 1. Herculem:** one of his twelve labors was killing the three-headed or three-bodied monster Geryon, on the island of Erythæa, near Gades in Spain, and the capture of his cattle for Eurystheus of Argos. **2. mira specie:** A. 251; H. 419, II.; G. 402. Observe that the ablative of quality must be limited by an adjective or equivalent genitive. **4. traiecerat:** intransitive. **laeto:** 'joy-giving:' the adjective has an active sense; cf. 'wine that *maketh glad* the heart of man.' **5. via:** construe with *fessum*. **6. sopor:** heavy sleep; *somnus:* ordinary sleep. **7. accola . . . loci:** A. 234, d, I; H. 391, II., 4; G. 356, R. I. **Cācus:** not, as ordinarily explained, from *kākós*, i. e., contrary of Evander, the 'good man,' but akin to *caecus*; a fire-breathing demon of the lower world, here appearing as a shepherd dwelling in a cave. **ferox viribus:** 'presuming on his strength.' *Viribus:* causal ablative. **9. armentum:** *ar(i)mentum (arare)*; cattle fit to plow with. **10. eo:** in this and other adverbs of its class, the ablative case notion has been lost. **deductura erant:** cf. p. 50, l. 19; A. 308, d; H. 511, 2; G. 599, R. 3. **11. aversos:** 'backwards.' *Bos* appears in this chapter as both masculine and feminine, probably owing to the blunder of some copyist. **14. numero:** dative. **15. si forte . . . ferrent:** '(to see) whether perchance their tracks would lead thither.' An indirect question, introduced by *si*. A. 334, f; H. 529, II., I, N. I; G. 462, 2. **16. foras:** denotes direction, implying motion, 'outwards;' *foris*, position only, 'outside.' **partem:** 'direction.' **17. animi:** A. 218, c, R.; H. 399, III., I; G. 374, R. 3. **18. occipit:** archaistic. **ad:** 'in consequence of.' **19. ut fit:** 'as is natural.'

**20. ex spelunca:** construe with *reddita*. **22. fidem:** 'protection.' **24. auctoritate:** by the influence due to high character. **25. imperio:** 'by official authority.' **26. litterarum:** the knowledge of the alphabet came to the Romans through the Greeks of southern Italy. **artium:** A. 218; H. 399, 3;



G. 373. **27. Carmentae**: or *Casmentae* (*ca(s)nere*, to sing, to prophesy); a nymph of song and prophecy, sometimes represented as the wife of Evander. **28. Sibyllae**: the Cumaean Sibyl, visited by Aeneas (Aen. vi. 1, sqq.).

**30. trepidantium**: 'hastening in alarm.' **31. habitum**: 'bearing.' **32. aliquantum**: for *aliquanto*. **33. humanā**: sc. *forma*. **34. Iove nate**: Hercules was the son of Jupiter (Zeus) and Alcmene of Thebes. **35. interpres**: 'one who speaks in the name of another,' which is the etymological meaning of 'prophet.' **deum**: and the three next following words are an example of *homoioteleuta*, which Livy is not very careful to avoid. **36. aram**: the *Ara Maxima Herculis* stood in or near the *Forum Boarium* (cattle market) at Rome, and there Hercules was worshipped as a god of good faith (*Deus Fidius*) in commercial transactions.

**Page 11. 3. accipere**: i. e. interpreted as applying to himself; the opposite of *accipere* was *improbare omen*. **fata**: (*fari*): that which has been spoken, the decrees of destiny. **ara condita**: 'by founding an altar.' **8. ad tempus**: 'in good time,' at the appointed time. **exta**: the eating of the entrails of the victim (instead of burning them on the altar), after the fashion of the Homeric age, is one of the Greek features of this rite. **10. Pinarium genus . . . vescerentur**: this explains the supposed etymology of *Pinaris* (πινάω, to fast, abstain). **12. tradito servis publicis**: this was done in the time of Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B. C., and was regarded as an act of impiety, which called down the anger of the gods, manifested by the extinction of the whole family within one year, Livy, ix. 29. But Diodorus, 4, 21, says it still existed in his time. **14. Haec . . . una**: 'these alone.' **15. peregrina**: foreign to Alba, the mother city of Rome; *peregrinus*, from *per* and *ager*, 'across country'; Ital. *pellegrino*, Fr. *pèlerin*, Eng. *pilgrim*. **16. fautor**: notice the frequency of verbal nouns in *-tor* and *-sor*.

CHAP. VIII. **17. perpetratis**: notice the weakening of the radical vowel when simple verbs are compounded (*per, patrare*). **18. in populi unius corpus**: 'into a single national body.' **19. legibus**: 'statutes;'; **iura**: 'principles of right.' The king possesses full legislative and executive

power. **20. ita . . . si**: 'only thus . . . if.' **23. Alii**: 'some,' as if another *alii* were to follow. **24. eum secutum numerum**: 'that he derived this number,' or 'that this number followed (Romulus).' The first interpretation is preferable. **25. me haud paenitet**: 'I am inclined.' Livy not infrequently uses *haud* with verbs. This is not common in good prose except in the phrase *haud scio an. quibus . . . placet*: 'who think.' **apparitores hoc genus**: 'attendants of this class;' *hoc genus* is adverbial accusative. A. 240, b; H. 378, 2; G. 331, R. 3. **26. ab Etruscois**: the ancients went too far in deriving Roman institutions from Etruria; it was easy thus to explain what was not understood. **28. ita habuisse**: 'had this arrangement.' **29. communiter creato rege**: the Etruscan league consisted of twelve cities, mutually independent, which, however, in time of war or general danger appointed a king or commander in chief in command of the whole league. **30. dederint**: as already stated, Livy often uses, for greater liveliness, primary tenses of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses of *oratio obliqua*, where we should expect secondary tenses. **32. adpetendo**: 'by annexing;' the logical subject is indefinite.

**Page 12. 1. ad id**: 'with reference to the number.' **3. vetere . . . urbes**: 'by an old device of founders of cities.' **5. natam e terra**: cf. the familiar story of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth. **6. nunc saeptus**, etc., 'now an enclosure which you encounter as you come down between the two groves.' From this obscure statement we might infer that the author is speaking of the Palatine, but the Capitoline has two peaks, each in early times covered by a grove, and the depression between them was called *Inter Duos Lucos*. Tradition pointed to this as the site of the Asylum of Romulus. **descendenti-bus**: dative of reference. A. 235; H. 384, II., 4, N. 3; G. 354.

**7. turba omnis**: 'a rabble of all sorts.' **9. ad coeptam magnitudinem**: 'in proportion to the greatness of the undertaking.' **10. Cum . . . paeniteret**: 'when he began to be contented;' the personal accusative is lacking, but easily supplied from the subject of the next verb, which is evidently Romulus. **consilium**: the Senate under the monarchy was always the royal council merely, with no independent power,

though it nominated a king through an *interrex* when the throne fell vacant. **12. qui . . . possent**: A. 320; H. 503, II., 1; G. 634. **13. patres**: the theory was that the Senate originally consisted of the heads (*patres*) of the several *gentes*. The word *patres* has two meanings according to the context: (1) Senators; (2) Patricians; the whole body of the original burgesses, as distinguished from the plebeians and others who did not at first possess political rights. But Livy's idea here is that patricians were such only because the heads of their houses had been members of the Senate. **ab honore**: 'in consequence of their official dignity.'

CHAP. IX. **15. res**: 'community.' **17. hominis aetatem duratura**: 'destined to last but a generation.' **quippe quibus . . . essent**: A. 320, *e*; H. 517, 3, 1); G. 636. **18. quibus**: by *constructio ad sensum* refers to *Romanis*, to be supplied from *res Romana*. **conubia**: the *ius conubii*, existing between two states, gave the citizens of either the right of contracting legal marriages with the citizens of the other. It did not exist as a matter of course, but by international agreement. **21. urbes quoque**, etc.: the infinitives depend on the verb of saying implied in the previous context. **ex infimo**: Livy makes a very extensive use of adjectives as substantives, especially in the neuter singular. **22. iuvent**: A. 336; H. 524; G. 653. **23. scire**: sc. *se*. **25. ne gravarentur**: A. 339; H. 523, III.; G. 655. **homines**: 'as men.' **27. adeo**: 'for;' introducing the ground for the preceding statement. **simul . . . simul**: 'at once . . . and,' or 'though . . . yet.' **29. rogitantibus dimissi**: 'sent away with the question (oft repeated).' **30. id enim demum**, etc.: 'for in that way only would they secure marriage on an equal footing.' **32. ad vim spectare res coepit**: 'the situation began to look like proceeding to violence,' 'as if a resort to violence were probable.'

**Page 13. 1. Cui**: antecedent is *vim*. **3. Neptuno Equestri**: Neptune (Poseidon) was the creator of the horse. **Consualia**: the festival of Consus, a god of crops and agriculture. He had an altar at the end of the circus, where horse-racing took place. This may suggest how the confusion between Neptune and Consus arose. The Consualia occurred on August

21st and December 15th. **5. concelebrant**: 'they prepare to solemnize.' **6. mortales**: poetic for *homines*. **8. Caeninnenses**, etc.: Caenina was probably on the Anio, some six miles east of Rome, but this is uncertain; Crustumerium was near the Tiber, about fifteen miles N. N. E., and Antemnae at the confluence of the Tiber and Anio, about three miles above Rome. Livy apparently regards them all as Latin towns. **iam**: 'finally.' **Sabinorum**: the Sabines seem in early times to have extended their power further into Latium than in the historical period, and there is little doubt that a Sabine city on the Quirinal was united to the Ramnian city on the Palatine on at least equal terms. The legend that here follows may be regarded as an aetiological myth, of which the main purpose was to account for the Sabine element in the community. Aetiological (*αιτία, λόγος*) myths are stories invented to explain the origin of existing historical facts, customs, names, etc., after that origin has been forgotten. It is curious to notice also how the marriage customs of most primitive peoples seem to be a reminiscence of the conquest of wives by violence.

**13. eo**: *vide* Nägelsbach, Lat. Stil., p. 233; the adverb *eo* represents *spectaculo*, *deditae* being regularly followed by the dative. **ex composito**: 'according to previous arrangement.'

**15. Magna pars . . . raptae**: *constructio ad sensum*. **in quem quaeque**, etc.: i. e. *ab eo, in quem quaeque*, etc.

**17. homines**: subject of *deferebant*. **ex plebe**: this is an anachronism, for there was then no *plebs*, existing as an inferior order beside the full burgesses.

**21. Talassio**: it is needless to say that this account of the wedding cry is purely fictitious, and furnishes an admirable example of the etymological myth, for which the antiquarian taste of Livy's age had a strong inclination. The real meaning of the word in question was even then no longer understood. *Vide* Preller, 584.

**22. hanc**: 'this present,' 'this . . . of to-day.' Cf. Catullus, 61 and 62.

**24. incusantes**: 'complaining of.' **violati hospitii foedus**: hypallage for *violatum hospitii foedus*.

**25. per fas ac fidem**: 'against right and truth.' Wsb. explains *per* = *παρά* (*παρά σπονδάς*) in this archaic phrase; cf. *perfidus, periurium*.

**29. in matrimonio**: 'in lawful marriage,' not in concubinage, as they may have feared.

**in societate . . . fore**: 'and would have a share in all the rights of property, in citizenship,

and, what is dearest to human nature, in their children.' **33. melioribus usuras viris**: 'they would find their husbands all the kinder.' **34. suam vicem**: 'in his own capacity.' Cf. note on *hoc genus* p. 11, l. 25. **36. purgantium**: 'excusing their conduct on the ground of,' etc.

**Page 14. CHAP. X. 3. admodum**: 'quite.' **4. sordida veste**: a sign of mourning. **7. regem Sabinorum**: king of Cures, the chief Sabine town, here called king of the Sabines, as opposed to all the Latin communities next mentioned. **10. Lente**: 'too slowly.' **14. nomen**: by metonymy for those who bear the name, the nation. **16. vastantibus**: A. 228, *b*; H. 304, I., 2, 392, II. **21. victore**: an instance of our author's characteristic use of a verbal noun in *-tor* as an attributive adjective. **22. ostentator**: another of his favorite verbals. **23. fabricato ad id apte ferculo**: 'on a frame properly constructed for the purpose.' These are the first *spolia opima* in Roman history.

**25. pastoribus sacram**: 'held sacred by shepherds;' *pastoribus* is a dative of reference. A. 235; H. 384, II., 4, N. 3. The tree was sacred *to* Jupiter as all oaks were; *vide* Preller, 96. The Capitoline Hill appears as yet uninhabited. Livy does not call this a triumph (cf. p. 48, l. 15), but Dionysius expressly says that Romulus introduced the custom of triumphs. **27. Feretri**: probably from *feretrum* = *ferculum*; some derive it from *ferio*. **Romulus rex regia**: notice the alliteration, common in formal and solemn language. **29. dedico**: expressive of an intention to be subsequently fulfilled, = *destino*. **30. me auctorem**: 'my example.' **32. primum omnium**: this very ancient shrine was restored by Augustus.

**Page 15. 2. nec . . . laudem**: 'nor the glory of that gift cheapened by the large number of those who should share it.' *Conpotum*: sc. *laudis*. **3. Bina**: A. 95, *b*; H. 174, 2, 3). **inter**: 'in the course of.' The two occasions referred to are when A. Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, 437 B. C., and when M. Claudius Marcellus slew Viridomarus, king of the Insubres, 222 B. C.

CHAP. XI. **7. per occasionem ac solitudinem**: 'taking advantage of the deserted state of the country,' the people

being engaged in celebrating their triumph at Rome. **8. ad hos:** for *in hos*, like *ad regem*, p. 8, l. 23. **9. legio:** 'the levy,' 'army,' not the later 'legion.' **11. Hersilia:** tradition says she was the only matron among the captured Sabine women; probably a goddess of marriage, identical with Hora, wife of Quirinus, with whom Romulus was identified after his death. **12. fatigata:** 'importuned.' **13. rem:** 'the commonwealth.' **coalescere:** 'grow strong.' **16. Utroque:** 'to both places,' Antemnae and Crustumerium. **17. plures:** more than for the other conquered places. It is taken for granted that the conquered cities ceded a part or the whole of their territory, and that Roman colonists were sent to occupy the ceded land. The Crustumine was preferred to the other districts for the reason stated, and so more gave in their names as colonists. **18. darent:** A. 320; H. 503; G. 634. **19. frequenter:** 'in large numbers.' **20. raptarum:** one of the thirty *curiae* was named *Rapta*. **22. per iram:** equivalent to a modal ablative or adverb. **24. Spurius Tarpeius:** the following story was told to account for the old name *Mons Tarpeius* for the Capitoline Hill. **25. arci:** the later *arx* was on the N. E. peak of the hill, but here the S. W. peak, afterward called *Capitolium*, is meant. **26. aquam . . . sacris:** tradition says that Tarpeia was a Vestal and fetched water from the fountain of the Camenae for the service of the goddess. **27. accepti, etc.:** 'when they had been admitted, they killed her by throwing their shields upon her.' **29. ne quid usquam, etc.:** 'that no faith should ever be kept with a traitor.' **30. aureas armillas:** it is not likely that the poor and frugal Sabines wore golden bracelets; there is probably here a confusion with the later Gallic conquerors of Rome, who delighted in personal adornment. **32. eam:** i. e. *Tarpeiam*, subject of *pepigitse*.

**Page 16. 1. haberent:** A. 336; H. 524; G. 653. **3. de-recto arma petisse, etc.:** 'that she asked for their shields outright (in order to disarm them), and that when she was found to be acting treacherously (toward the Sabines) she was slain by her own recompense.'

CHAP. XII. **5. tamen:** 'at all events,' whether the one story or the other be correct. **6. quod . . . campi est:**

'the whole plain.' **9. in adversum Romani subiere** : 'the Romans advanced up the hill.' **10. Principes** : best understood as subject of *ciebant*, with *Mettius* and *Hostius* as appositives. **ab Sabinis** : 'on the part of the Sabines.' **11. Hostius Hostilius** : said in chap. xxii. to have been the grandfather of king Tullus Hostilius. **12. rem** : 'the cause.' **iniquo loco** : concessive. **ad prima signa** : 'in the foremost ranks.' **14. inclinatur** : 'gives way.' **portam Palatii** : the Porta Mugonia or Mugionis, one of the three gates of *Roma Quadrata*, the original Palatine city, was on the north side of the hill, near the highest point of the *Via Sacra* and the Arch of Titus. **15. actus** : 'carried along,' 'swept away.' **18. superata** : 'passed over and left behind.' **20. saltem** : (perhaps *sal(u)tim*), 'at least.' **deme . . . siste** : the solemnity of the invocation is heightened by the chiasmus and alliteration. **21. Statori** : the epithet is emphasized by being placed first. **quod . . . sit** : A. 317, 2; H. 497, 1; G. 545, 1. **22. praesenti** : note the constant use of this adjective to characterize the help of the gods. **29. foro** : the ground afterward occupied by the Forum was then a swampy valley, and so continued till the construction of the system of *cloacae*. **30. hospites . . . hostes** : an instance of *paronomasia*, i. e. the use in juxtaposition of words of similar sound, quite frequent in Livy. Vide p. 71, l. 9, and p. 97, l. 6.

**Page 17. 1. haec gloriantem** : 'thus boasting;' the use of the accusative with this verb, instead of the ablative with *de*, is unusual. **2. ferocissimorum iuvenum** : 'the most valiant soldiers.' **3. Ex equo** : cf. ἀφ' ἵππου : 'on horseback.' **eo** : construe with *facilius*. **5. Mettius in paludem**, etc. : this aetiological myth explains the name of a marshy pool which existed in the Forum. **7. periculo** : causal ablative. **9. favore** : 'encouragement, applause;' the language is borrowed from the amphitheatre or circus, where partisans of particular contestants encouraged them by gesture and voice (*adnuere, vocare*). **11. res Romana erat superior** : 'the Romans were getting the upper hand.'

CHAP. XIII. **15. dirimere . . . dirimere** : 'parted the hostile armies . . . put an end to the angry contest;' historical infinitives. **17. nefando** : (*ne, fari*), unspeakable, 'abomina-

ble.' **parricidio**: not *patri-cidium*, but from *par* and *caedere*, hence the murder of an equal, a fellow citizen. Cf. the *quaestores parricidii* of early Roman law, the "trackers of murder."

**18. nepotum . . . progeniem**: 'the former, their offspring consisting of grandchildren: the latter, their offspring consisting of children:' *nepotum* and *liberum* are so-called genitives of definition used where an appositive might well stand. A. 214, f; H. 396, vi.; G. 359.

**19. Si adfinitatis**, etc.: note the change from *oratio obliqua* to *oratio recta*; this often serves, as here, for heightened effect. It is unusual in Cicero.

**21. Melius peribimus**: brachylogy.

**22. alteris**: 'the one or the other (class) of you;' the word being used of two categories of men, not of two individuals; it would be natural to repeat *sine alteris* in place of *aut*.

**orbae**: 'fatherless.' **23. Silentium . . . quies**: the former is cessation of speech, the latter of action.

**26. imperium**: 'the government.'

**28. Quirites**: this etymology is uncertain; the word perhaps comes from *quiris*, a lance, and means "the spearmen," the soldiers of the state, or from the same root as *curia*, and means "the members of the *curiae*."

**Curibus**: about twenty-five miles N. E. of Rome, now the village of Correse.

**appellati**: its subject is to be supplied from *geminata urbe*, i. e. all the citizens of the enlarged community.

**30. vado**: (*vadere*), where one can walk, 'on solid ground.'

**Curtium lacum**: this was a bog at the foot of the Palatine Hill, subsequently drained and filled up. Livy, Book vii., ch. 6, relates another story to account for its name the legend of M. Curtius, who leaped full armed and on horseback into a chasm which opened in the Forum and could be closed only by the sacrifice of "the most valuable thing in Rome," understanding thereby its military prowess.

**Page 18. 2. curias**: the *curia* was a civil organization, under a *curio*, consisting of several *gentes*, having a common worship, real or fictitious kinship, etc. *Vide* Morey, Outlines of Roman Law, p. 8, sqq.

**3. nomina earum**: some of the *curiae* had Sabine gentile names, others had local names.

**7. centuriae**: (*centum*), bodies of (theoretically) one hundred men, i. e. one from each *gens*, ten from each *curia*.

**Ramnenses . . . Titienses**: sc. *equites*; the derivation is not



as here stated; adjectives in *ensis* are not formed from personal names.

**8. Lucerum**: if the Luceres were the conquered Albans, it would be proper to speak of only twenty *curiae* in Romulus' time. But the existence of three tribes in the Roman *populus* is one of the "ultimate facts" of history, and upon such points as the origin of the Luceres, Livy, with characteristic conservatism, refuses to commit himself. Perhaps the most general belief in antiquity was that the Luceres were of Etruscan origin, and their name derived from *lucumo*, a lord. At all events, we are not very much clearer with regard to the Ramnes and Tities.

CHAP. XIV. **13. Laurentium**: living about Lavinium, about eighteen miles south of Rome; cf. note on *Lavinium*, p. 4, l. 17; at that time it was a considerable seaport. **pulsant**: 'maltreated.' **iure gentium agerent**: 'made complaint according to international law;' they had a right to demand the surrender of the offenders for punishment. **16. sollemne**: cf. note on this word, p. 7, l. 30. **18. ob infidam societatem regni**: 'on account of the mistrust caused by a divided (shared) sovereignty.' **19. haud**: construe with *iniuria*. **22. renovatum est**: this was done yearly after the Latin festival. (Bk. VIII., ch. 11). **25. nimis vicinas prope se**: pleonasm. **26. priusquam . . . esset, quantum . . . apparebat**: 'before there should be as much strength in the new state as it was evident there would (ere long) be.' **27. occupant facere**: like *φθάνειν* with a participle; 'they anticipated (the Romans) by beginning war;' cf. p. 38, l. 28, and p. 112, l. 29. Cicero and Caesar do not use this construction. **28. inter urbem ac Fidenas**: Fidenae, the *tête de pont* of the Etruscans for many years on the Latin side of the Tiber, was only five miles above Rome.

**Page 19. 3. omnibus copiis**: an instance of the ablative of accompaniment without a preposition, so frequent in Livy; thus used it shades off into the modal ablative. **locis . . . obscuris**: a hopelessly corrupted passage in the MSS.; 'in dark (shady) places round about (i. e. amongst) the thick underbrush.' **5. id quod quaerebat**: refers to *hostem excivit*. **9. velut**: 'apparently.' **10. trepidante**: 'wavering.' **pedes**: singular for plural, the individual representing the multitude;

cf. *Romanus*, *infra*, l. 21. 13. *Inde*: i. e. *ex eo loco*. *transversam*: 'in flank.' 14. *mota . . . signa*: 'the advancing of the standards;' *signa* is subject of *addunt*.

18. *effusius*: 'in wilder haste.' 19. *simulantes*: i. e. *Romanos*. 20. *haerens in tergo*: 'pressing close upon their rear.'

CHAP. XV. 23. *Fidenatis*: adjective agreeing with *belli*. *contagione*: 'infection,' as of a disease. *Veientium*: Veii was situated in a high, steep, rocky position, twelve miles N. W. of Rome, on the Cremera river; for a long time it was Rome's chief antagonist.

25. *si Romana . . . essent*: (because such nearness was unsafe) 'if the Roman arms were dangerous to all the neighbors;' subjunctive expressing the thought in the minds of the Veientes. 27. *iusti . . . belli*: 'regular warfare,' opposed to *tumultuarium*. 30. *Romanus*: singular for plural. 31. *dimicationi ultimae*: 'a decisive conflict;' the dative is strictly governed by *intentus* only. *Intentus* is also used with *ad* or *in* and the accusative.

Page 20. 2. *de*: not 'from,' but 'for,' 'on behalf of.' 4. *tantum . . . robore*: 'by the sheer strength.' *veterani*: in using this word of the militia of early Rome, the author unconsciously introduces an idea belonging to a much later time. 5. *ad moenia*: construe with *persecutus*. 9. *oratores*: 'envoys,' lit. 'pleaders.' *Agri parte*: cf. p. 43, ll. 11, 12, where substantially the same statement is repeated. A. 220, b, 1; H. 410, III.; G. 377, R. 1 *multatis*: dative, agreeing with the indirect object of *datae* (*sunt*). 10. *indutiae*: (*indutus* = *insertus*; hence a period of interruption in the course of a war), 'a truce;' in dealing with the Etruscans the Romans always concluded a truce for a fixed number of years (of ten months each), not a definitive peace. 11. *ferme*: 'essentially,' 'in a general way.' 12. *fidei*: dative with *absonum*, which is also used with *ab* and the ablative. A. 234; H. 391; G. 356, R. 5.

15. *Ab illo*: agent of *datis*. 16. *quadraginta . . . annos*: i. e. Numa's reign. *deinde*: with adjective force, 'the next.' 18. *longe ante alios acceptissimus*: pleonasm, a doubly strengthened superlative. 19. *Celeres*: (*celer*, *cello*), probably

but another name for the *equites*, mentioned in ch. XIII., though the author regards them as a separate body, but does not state whether they were cavalry or footmen. The statement seems like an implication that Romulus grew despotic in his last years, and reminds one of the Greek tyrants. The whole story is perhaps due to confusion about the meaning of *Celeres*.

CHAP. XVI. 22. *inmortalibus*: worthy of immortality, 'famous.' 23. *contionem*: (*conventio*), 'assembly.' *ad Caprae paludem*: the 'Goat's Marsh' was in the locality afterward occupied by the Circus Flaminius in the Campus Martius. 25. *fragore tonitribusque*: hendiadys, 'crashing of thunder.' *regem operuit nimbo*: *Vide* Preller, 84. 26. *contioni*: A. 229; H. 386, 2. *abstulerit*: cf. p. 6, l. 4, and note. *in terris*: 'on earth.' 27. *Romana pubes* . . . *obtinuit*: a good example of the periodic sentence. *Pubes*, as *iuvenes* in other places, is equivalent to *militēs*; the military age was from seventeen to forty-six. 28. *ex*: 'after.' *die*: 'weather.' 30. *patribus*: notice that the person believed is in the dative; the thing believed, in the accusative, here represented by the clause *sublimem raptum esse*. *sublimem*: 'on high.'

Page 21. 3. *salvere* . . . *iubent*: 'they all cried, Hail Romulus!' *pacem*: 'protection,' 'favor,' we say the 'peace of God.' 4. *volens* (*et*) *propitius*: asyndeton. *sospitet*: an archaic word. 7. *manavit*: 'circulated.' 10. *Proculus*: this praenomen occurs only in early times. According to some authorities, the *gens Iulia* was brought to Rome from Alba in the reign of Tullus Hostilius; cf. p. 38, l. 3, where our author seems to contradict himself. 11. *gravis*: construe with *auctor*. *quamvis*: limits *magnae*. 15. *perfusus*: notice the frequent metaphorical use in Latin of words of flowing. 16. *contra intueri*: 'to look into his face,' because it was not permitted men to behold the gods, except as a special mark of favor. 17. *ita velle, ut* . . . : without *ita*, *velle* would have been followed, as usual, by the subjunctive without *ut*, or by an infinitive clause.

CHAP. XVII. 24. *Patrum*: here not patricians, but senators, who at this time were all patricians, as it was not till the time of Tarquinius Priscus that representatives of the more important plebeian families were introduced into the Senate as

*conscripti*. 25. **versabat**: 'was occupying, exciting.' 26. **pervenerat**: sc. *certamen ac cupido*. 27. **ordines**: the two tribes, Ramnes and Tities.

28. **non erat regnatum**: 'there had been no king.' **in**: 'notwithstanding.' 30. **Romani veteres**: the Ramnes, the Romans of the Palatine. **peregrinum**: cf. note on this word, p. 11, l. 15.

**Page 22.** 1. **aspernabantur**: 'objected to.' **regnari**: being intransitive, is impersonal in the passive, hence 'they wished that there might be a monarchy,' not 'they wished to be ruled by a king.' 2. **libertatis dulcedine**: the author's republican sympathies are well known. 4. **circa**: adverb as adjective. 5. **Et...et**: 'though...yet.' 6. **nemo...** **inducebat**: 'no one could make up his mind to give place to another;' the direct object of *inducebat* is *alteri concedere*. 7. **Ita**: 'under these circumstances.' **rem**: 'the government.' **centum**: this was the original number of the Senators; Livy seems to have forgotten the doubling of the Senate, which is at least implied in ch. xiii., "*geminata urbe*," etc. **decem decuriis factis**: various explanations of this arrangement have been suggested, but its precise nature cannot be understood; the only point that is clear is that each senator had his turn in ruling for five days. 12. **in orbem**: 'in rotation.' **annuumque**: inexact in speaking of five hundred days. 13. **ab re**: 'from its real nature.' **nunc**: an *interrex* was appointed for the last time in 52 B. C. **tenet**: 'is current,' 'obtains.'

16. **et ab ipsis creatum**: 'and that one of their own choosing.' 17. **ea moveri**: 'that this intention was on foot.' 18. **ita gratiam ineunt**: 'adopted a popular course, but in such a way that,' etc. 20. **populus**: strictly speaking, this consisted at that time of the patricians only, but Livy, with some historical inaccuracy, already confuses *populus* and *plebs*; it was the so-called constitution of Servius Tullius that first made the whole body of plebeians citizens, i. e. members of the *populus*. **iussisset**: 'should elect;' *iubere* is the proper word to denote a decree of the *comitia centuriata*, i. e. the *populus*, as constituted by Servius Tullius, voting by centuries. 21. **si patres auctores fierent**: 'if the senators should confirm

(their choice);' the senators had reserved the power of confirming the king's election, and thus retained as much power as they granted the people. Historically, '*patres auctores fiunt*' means that the senate authorized the newly elected king to appear before the *comitia curiata* (assembly of patricians by *curiae*) to ask for the *lex curiata de imperio* by which sovereignty was formally conferred. **22. rogandis**, etc.: 'in voting for laws and magistrates,' *rogare* is said of the magistrate presiding over the *comitia*, who asked the people whether they favored or opposed the proposed law or candidate, to which question they replied by their votes, without debate or amendment. **usurpatur**: (*usus, rapere*; seize to one's self by using), 'is exercised.'

**23. in incertum . . . eventum**: 'against the uncertain (as yet unknown) result.' **25. interrex**: the *interrex* for the time being nominated the king. **contione**: *contiones* were public meetings where no voting, but only speaking took place; to be distinguished from *comitia*.

**Quod . . . sit**: 'and may it prove,' etc.; optative subjunctive: the solemn formula used at the opening of the *comitia*, whereby they were placed under divine protection.

**28. numeretur**: A. 320, f; H. 503, II., 2; G. 556, R. 2.

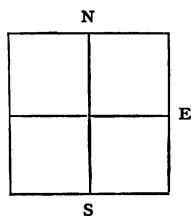
**29. ne victi beneficio viderentur**: 'not to be outdone in complaisance.'

**30. sciscerent**: this is the verb technically used for enactments of the *plebs*. This whole story cannot be regarded as an historically correct account of the election of a king at Rome, for in fact the senators chose an *interrex*, he nominated the king, and the citizens in *comitia curiata* could simply accept or reject the nominee proposed. **ut . . . decerneret**: this *ut* clause follows *sciscerent*, rather than *inherent*, which would require an infinitive clause.

CHAP. XVIII. **32. Numae**: (akin to *numerus, νόμος*), the 'lawgiver' or 'arranger' of the commonwealth; the name and character are entirely mythical, and the account of this reign is simply a list of institutions, chiefly religious, attributed to a king of this name; there may have been a king named Pompilius, though even that is sometimes derived from *pompa*, a (religious) procession. It is well known that the earliest Roman legal system had a religious basis: *vide* Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*, pp. 14, sqq.

**Page 23. 2. Auctorem:** 'teacher.' **3. Pythagoram:** Pythagoras of Samos settled at Croton, and founded there a school of philosophy; he was a contemporary of Tarquinius Superbus rather than of Servius Tullius. Numa resembled him in his application of philosophy to practical and political affairs. Pythagoras exercised a strong influence in forming the aristocratic governments of the Dorian cities of Magna Graecia. His system of doctrine was characterized by asceticism and by a mystic treatment of mathematics. **5. circa:** 'in and about.' **Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona:** cities of Magna Graecia, the two former on the Gulf of Tarentum, the third at the S. E. extremity of Lucania. **Crotona:** Greek accusative. **6. aemulantium:** 'eagerly pursuing.' **7. coetus:** 'associations.' **8. in Sabinos:** sc. *adlata esset*. **11. ingenio:** causal ablative. **12. temperatum:** 'regulated.' **virtutibus:** ablative of means. **opinor magis:** 'I think it more likely.' **14. tetrica ac tristi:** 'harsh and stern.' **Sabinorum:** the Sabines were for ages proverbial for their virtue and simplicity. **16. patres Romani:** here there is confusion between the whole senate and the Ramnian members of it. **20. ad unum omnes:** 'all to a man.' **21. augurato:** Livy frequently uses the perfect participle alone as an ablative absolute. **23. augure:** augurs appear to have existed before this time, but not as public officers, nor in an organized *collegium*; cf. p. 9, l. 18. **deinde:** 'thereafter.' **ergo = causâ:** the adverb here appearing as preposition with the genitive: cf. *ενεκα* and other adverbs similarly used in Greek. A. 223, *e*; H. 398, 5; G. 372.

**24. sacerdotium:** a religious office, not properly a priesthood. **deductus:** 'escorted,' 'conducted,' not 'led down.' **in arcem:** on the N. E. summit of the Capitoline Hill was the *auguraculum*, the station for taking the auspices, a space cut off by certain limits (*templum*); see figure. The line N S is the "*cardo*," W E W is the "*decumanus*," the observer stood at the centre, facing E or S. The augur, after dividing the sky similarly by imaginary lines into four *regiones*, two for favorable and two for unfavorable indications, interpreted the



signs which appeared. Here one only of the dividing lines is mentioned. **27. lituum**: perhaps an Etruscan word meaning 'curved' or 'crooked'; possibly akin to *litare*. **30. meridiem** (probably *medi-, diem*): the augur was facing east. **septemtrionem**: the *septem triones* were the seven draught oxen, i. e. the seven stars of *Ursa Maior*, or the Great Dipper in the northern sky. Or perhaps *septemtrio* means "septet." **31. signum contra . . . animo finivit**: 'he fixed in his mind a landmark opposite him,' i. e. on the horizon, as the end of the *decumanus*; the same was done to the westward. **34. pater**: this word is already included in *Iuppiter, Diupiter, Diespiter*. **36. uti**: archaic for *utinam*. **signa**: the flight or cries of birds, or thunder or lightning. **adclarassis = adclaraveris**: A. 128, *e*, 5; H. 240, 4; G. 191, 5.

**Page 24. 1. peregit**: 'specified.' **2. declaratus**: i. e. by the god who sent the omens. **de templo**: 'from the auguraculum.' Dr. Moritz Müller points out that the taking of auspices, as above described, really preceded the announcement of the nomination of the king by the *interrex*.

CHAP. XIX. **4. regno . . . potitus**: the *lex curiata de imperio* is not mentioned, though Cicero (*De Repub.* 2, 13) assigns its origin to Numa. **5. vi et armis**: hendiadys. **eam**: i. e. *urbem*, the object being thus repeated in order to sharpen the contrast between *de integro condere* and *conditam*. **6. adsuescere**: governs the accusative alone or with a preposition, the dative or the ablative; its subject here is general, 'men,' or *ferocem populum* to be supplied from line 8. **8. Ianum**: the gate of *Ianus Bifrons* stood at 'the lowest part of the *Argiletum*,' in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal, and thus between the Roman city of the Palatine and the Sabine of the Quirinal; through this gate the united armies went out to war. **9. infimum**: 'the lowest part,' next to the Forum. A. 193; H. 440, 2, N. 2. **12. clausus fuit**: 'has been closed,' not 'was closed;' it is the occurrence, not the resulting state that is thus expressed; the latter would be *clausus est*. **T. Manlio consule**: 235 B. C.

**14. post bellum Actiacum**: the battle of Actium, in which Octavianus (Augustus) defeated Antony and Cleopatra, was fought 31 B. C., and the gate of Janus closed 29 B. C. It was

closed again by Augustus 25 B. C., so this book was apparently written between 29 and 25 B. C. **15. imperatore:** 'emperor.'

**18. luxuriarent:** 'run riot,' fall into license and lawlessness.

**19. rem:** appositive to *metum iniciendum*, l. 21.

**22.**

**descendere ad animos:** 'sink into their hearts.'

**23. Egeria:**

one of the Camenae, nymphs of brooks and fountains, song and prophecy; the connection of these ideas appears in the word *lymphaticus*, 'inspired.'

**25. cuique deorum:** i. e.

*sacris cuiusque deorum.*

**27. omnium primum:** the regulation of the calendar was of the utmost importance for religious purposes, on account of the numerous festivals, etc., as well as for civil ones. **ad:**

'according to.'

**duodecim menses:** the lunar month is twenty-nine days, twelve hours, forty-four minutes; twelve lunar months therefore were approximately three hundred and fifty-four days. The solar year is approximately three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter, so an intercalary month of alternately twenty-two or twenty-three days, called Mercedonius; was inserted after February 23 or 24, i. e. at the end of the year, March being in early times the first month. But this correction was made so irregularly that when Julius Caesar reformed the calendar, he had to insert sixty-seven days besides the intercalary month in the year 46 B. C. The Julian calendar was corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, but the Gregorian calendar was not adopted by the British government till 1752, when the necessary correction was made by omitting eleven days from September. "Old Style," still used in Russia, means the Julian calendar. The Gregorian calendar omits the 29th of February in centennial years not divisible by four hundred. The confusion of the Roman calendar was due partly to the imperfect astronomical knowledge of the pontiffs, partly to their intentional manipulation of it for political purposes.

**29. desuntque . . . dies:** the numeral is wanting in the MSS.

**30. anno:** dative.

**31. vicesimo anno:** in fact, no such cycle of twenty years was ever known at Rome.

**33. nefastos:** *dies fasti* were those "*per quos praetoribus licet fari*;" *nefasti* those "*per quos nefas fari praetorem*;" i. e. business days and holidays, days on which court could or could not be held. The *praetor* was the judge when Varro wrote the above definition.

Under the monarchy it was the king who exercised supreme



judicial functions. Only certain ones of the *dies fasti* were also *dies comitiales*, "*quibus cum populo agi licet*," i. e. on which it was lawful to hold *comitia*.

**Page 25. CHAP. XX. 5. Dilem flaminem :** a *flamen* (from  $\sqrt{\text{FLAG}}$ , *flagrare*, *flamma*; or *flare*, 'to blow,' hence 'a kindler;' or *filamen*, from the fillet worn round the head) is the special priest of a particular deity; this is the chief priest of Jupiter, who with the *flamines Martialis* and *Quirinalis* constituted the *flamines maiores*, distinguished from the twelve *minores*. These three priests were in all periods patricians. **6. Romuli :** A. 218, *d*; H. 391, II., 4; G. 356, R. 1. **7. regiae vicis :** 'of the royal office;' *vicis* in genitive is not used by any writer earlier than Livy and by him only once elsewhere, cf. p. 51, l. 31. **8. adsidium :** 'permanent and resident;' the *flamen Dialis* was never permitted to be absent a single night from the city, nor to sleep three successive nights out of his own bed. These and numberless other restrictions (*vide* Aul. Gell. x. 15), rendered the office as much a burden as an honor, so that, according to Tacitus (Ann. iii. 58), it was vacant for seventy-five years just before the Christian era. **9. insignique . . . veste :** a *toga praetexta* and a peaked cap, called *apex*, without which peculiar dress he might not appear in public. **curuli (currus) . . . sella :** originally a chariot seat, later an ivory chair used by the highest magistrates. We may think of the king in the earliest times as sitting in his chariot to administer justice in the city, where all others were obliged to go on foot. **regia :** emphasized by its abnormal position between the two parts of a compound word.

**11. virginesque :** they were emancipated from the *potestas* of their fathers, and that they might not be subject to the *manus* of husbands, vowed to virginity for thirty years. There were at first four, afterward six vestals at Rome Vesta's temple and the house of the Vestals stood at the southeast end of the Forum close to the base of the Palatine. Their discovery a few years since created extraordinary interest in the excavations of Rome; *vide* Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, ch. vi. **Alba** and **Lavinium** were ancient centres of Vesta worship, which was general among the Latins. **12. genti :** Livy uses *alienus* with the dative.

**conditoris**: sc. *urbis*. **13. stipendium**: besides grants of money, the Vestal college was endowed with portions of the public land. **14. caerimoniis**: 'sacred distinctions;' their persons were sacred and they enjoyed great consideration, e. g. the privilege of riding in the city, and respiting criminals on the way to execution. **15. Salios**: (*salire*), 'the Leapers.' **Gradivo**: from *gradior*, the champion war-god, marching at the head of his people; or from  $\sqrt{\text{GRA}}$ , *gramen*, 'grow,' the god of the Spring, which was Mars' original character. **16. tunicaeque**: 'consisting of a tunic;' genitive of definition.

**17. ancilia**: (*amb-, caedere*) from a silver coin of the *gens Licinia* we learn that the general shape was } The story is that one such shield fell from heaven, as } a pledge of Rome's future dominion, and that Numa, to prevent its being stolen, had eleven others made exactly like it. **18. ferre**:

this procession and festival took place in March, the month sacred to Mars. **carmina**: certain fragments of the Saliaric hymns form the oldest extant specimens of the Latin language. They were unintelligible to the Romans of Livy's time; cf. Hor. Epist. ii. 1, 86. **19. tripudiis**: explained by *sollem-nique saltatu*, a "three-step" war-dance. **20. Pontificem**:

the author probably had in mind the *pontifex maximus*, chief of the college of pontiffs, though no others are mentioned in this connection. This official, though not a priest of any particular deity, had in republican times the general supervision of the whole religious system of the state, the care of the Vestals, the regulation of the calendar, the keeping of the *Annales Maximi*, etc. The etymology of *pontifex* is not certain; Mommsen derives it from *pons, facere*, taking *pons* in the general sense of 'road.' **22. quibus hostiis**: the division of functions among the gods was so minute, and the characters of some of them so diversified, that the uninitiated needed instruction as to the proper quarter in which to make their supplications. Different deities required different sacrifices, and formal correctness in the ritual was the *sine qua non* of Roman worship. All this necessitated a learned body to perpetuate the ritualistic lore.

**25. quo** = *ad quem*. **consultum**: supine, 'for advice.'

**26. peregrinos**: the introduction of foreign rites without the authority of the senate, was a species of treason. **27. nec**

... **modo** = *ac non . . . modo*.      **caelestes**: 'pertaining to the gods above.'      **28. placandosque manes**: the gerundive, except with certain few verbs, is not used in the accusative without a preposition; here it is allowed only in order to coördinate with *funebria*. A. 300; G. 431; Madvig, Lat. Gram. 422.      **30. susciperentur**: 'accepted,' i. e. understood as applying to the Roman people.      **curarentur**: 'attended to,' by proper expiatory offerings.

**Page 26.** CHAP. XXI. **4. interesse**: 'to concern itself with.'      **5. ius iurandum**: 'regard for one's oath.'      **6. pro anxio**: some texts have *proximo*, i. e. 'a secondary consideration.'      **8. formarent**: subjunctive after *cum*, causal as well as temporal, though with *cum . . . tum* we usually find the indicative in both clauses.      **13. ex opaco specu**: sc. *profuens*.      **14. arbitris**: (*adbiter*; *ad, bitere*, one who goes to see), 'witnesses.'      **15. deae**: i. e. Egeria.      **Camenis** (*Casmenae* from *casnere, canere*), fountain nymphs, later identified with the Greek Muses; their grove was in a valley near the *Porta Capena*.      **17. Fidei**: the personification of good faith in business relations.      **sollemne**: 'the (periodic) worship,' held October 1st.      **id**: a curious use of the pronoun; here *id* means *for this* (worship).      **sacrarium**: this shrine was near the Capitoline temple.      **flamines**: i. e. the three *flamines maiores*.      **bigis curru**: appositives.      **18. ad . . . usque**: generally *usque ad*.      **involuta**: i. e. with a white bandage, emblematic of purity and inviolability.

**21. Argeos**: there were twenty-four Argean chapels, six in each region of the city. Their precise nature and the meaning of the name are unknown. Yearly, on March 16th and 17th, and on May 15th, it was customary for a religious procession to visit them all in succession; and on the last-mentioned date twenty-four wicker figures of men were thrown into the Tiber, probably as an expiatory offering. This feature is sometimes understood as a relic of an earlier human sacrifice.      **24. deinceps**: with adjective force, 'successive.'      **alius alia**: instead of *alter altera*, which would be more strictly correct in speaking of but two kings. These words perhaps emphasize the difference between them as distinct from their mere number.      **27. temperata**: 'regulated,' 'organized.'

CHAP. XXII. 30. *Hostili*: *vide* ch. xii. *infima*: A. 193; H. 440, 2, N. 2.

**Page 27.** 1. *clara*: not predicative, but attributive to *pugna*. *iussit* = *creavit*, 'elected.' 2. *patres auctores*: cf. note on p. 22, l. 21. 5. *Senescere*: 'grow feeble.' 6. *materiam*: 'occasion.' 7. *Albani*: though Rome is represented as originally a colony of Alba, no special connection appears to have been preserved between them. 8. *Imperitabat*: there is no apparent reason for the use of the intensive verb. It is not perfectly clear whether Livy considered the rulers of Alba kings for life or yearly dictators; more probably the latter. He calls Mettius (p. 28, l. 8) a dictator; it is not likely that he meant to imply a change in the form of government. 9. *legati*: i. e. *fetiales*; cf. ch. xxxii. *sub*: 'about.' 12. *pie*: 'justly,' with due regard for the rights of gods and men. 14. *celebrant*: 'attend.' 16. *in tricesimum diem*: 'to begin at the expiration of thirty days.' 18. *omnium*: A. 218, a; H. 399, 2; G. 373. 21. *ni* = *si non*. 22. *Ad haec*: 'in reply to this.' 23. *uter*: relative; its antecedent is *eum* (*populum*). In Latin the relative clause usually stands first, and then contains the antecedent (attraction) in the case of the relative pronoun (assimilation). 25. *expetant*: may be transitive, with *dii* (supplied from *deos*) as subject; or intransitive, with *clades* as subject.

CHAP. XXIII. 28. *natosque*: poetic for *liberosque*. *prolem*: poetic. 29. *ab . . . stirpe regum . . . Romani*: this is true only of Romulus, their founder.

**Page 28.** 2. *in unum*: as will appear in ch. xxix. 5. *milia*: A. 247, c; H. 417, I, N. 2; G. 311, R. 4. *fossa Cluilia*: this was probably once the boundary of Roman territory on this side. King Cluilius is a pure invention to account for this name; *cluere* = *purgare*: cf. *cloaca*. 7. *abolevit*: 'fell into oblivion.' 10. *ab ipso capite orsum*: 'having begun at the very head.' The king, the head of the nation, had died already, and this was to be regarded as the beginning of divine judgment. 11. *expetiturum*: *in aliquem*, instead of the usual *ab aliquo*. 14. *Mettium*: a Hostilius and a

**Page 30.** 2. **sanciendum**: making the treaty binding by the sanction of religion, — with an oath. 3. **carmine**: '(metrical) formula.' **non operae est**:<sup>1</sup> colloquial, 'it is not worth while.' A. 252, *b*; H. 404; G. 378. But *vide* Roby, Lat. Gr. 1283. 6. **illa**: refers somewhat loosely to *legibus*, l. 4. **prima postrema**: 'from beginning to end.' **tabulis cerave**: '(stone) tables or (wooden tablets covered with) wax.' Some editors make of this, by hendiadys, 'waxen tablets.' 7. **dolo malo**: 'evil intent.' **utique** = *et uti*. 8. **legibus**: we ordinarily find the preposition *ab* after *deficere*. 9. **defexit**: archaic for *defecerit*. 11. **porcum**: a hog was the regular sacrifice upon the conclusion of a treaty. 13. **saxo**: genus; **silice**: species; a flint was the symbol of Jupiter or of his thunderbolt, by which he punished perjury. The solemnity of this imprecation is heightened by the threefold alliteration. *hic hodie, potes polles, saxo silice*.

CHAP. XXV. 16. **sicut convenerat**: 'as had been agreed.' 20. **pleni adhortantium vocibus**: 'inspired by the encouraging shouts of their friends.' 21. **Consederant**: had sat down, 'were sitting.' 22. **periculi**: A. 218, *a*; H. 399, 2; G. 373. 23. **praesentis**: 'immediate.' **quippe** = *nam*. 24. **positum**: 'depending.' 25. **Itaque ergo**: pleonasm. **minime** is a very strong negative. **spectaculum**: generally an exhibition whose object was to please or amuse, e.g. the games of the circus; this exhibition is 'anything but pleasing.' 28. **periculum . . . imperium**: the chiasitic order makes *sed* unnecessary. 30. **ea . . . quam**: 'such as.' 31. **fecissent**: represents the future perfect indicative or perfect subjunctive, *obversatur* being in the historical present (secondary tense). This is an expression of the feelings of the champions in informal *oratio obliqua*. A. 340, 341; H. 528; G. 665. **statim**: they proceed at once to business without preliminary by-play.

**Page 31.** 1. **perstringit**: 'thrills.' **neutro** = *in neutram partem*. 3. **anceps**: 'indecisive.' 5. **super alium alius**: we should rather expect *super alterum alter*. 8. **exanimis**: 'breathless' with anxiety. 9. **circumsteterant**: translate by imperfect, like *consederant*, p. 30, l. 21. 10. **ut . . . sic**: 'while . . . yet.' 11. **ferox**: 'confident' of success.

<sup>1</sup> Class. Review, October, 1894, p. 345.

**capessit**: intensive of *capere*. A. 167, c; H. 336, II., N. 2.

**19. qualis** (*clamor*) . . . **solet** (*esse*). **ex insperato**

**favendum**: 'of those who applaud an unexpected success.'

*Ex* with the ablative neuter of an adjective or participle is a favorite form of adverbial phrase with our author. **20.**

**militem**: 'champion.' **23. Marte**: for *pugna*, by metonymy.

**26. trahens corpus**: we say 'dragging himself along.' **27.**

**ante se**: i. e. *ante suam stragem*; temporal. **obicitur**: has the sense of the middle voice. **illud**, etc.: 'what followed

was not a battle.' **28. Manibus**: it was necessary to appease the shades of the slain. **30. Male**: 'scarcely,' 'with difficulty.'

**arma**: 'his shield.' **31. superne**: 'over the top of his shield.' **iugulo**: sc. *in*. Livy goes far toward the style of poetry in his suppression of prepositions. **35. dicionis**

**alienae**: 'subject to foreign dominion,' opposed to *sui iuris*. This is one of our author's favorite predicative genitives of possession. **36. extant**: 'are still to be seen;' the mounds

so called existed in Livy's time in the *campus sacer Horatorum*, on the *Via Latina*, five miles from Rome.

**Page 32. CHAP. XXVI. 4. imperaret, imperat**: the juxtaposition emphasizes the fact of Tullus' new authority.

**8. Princeps**: 'at the head' of the returning army. A: 191; H. 442, 443; G. 324, R. 6. **9. desponsa**: this implies the existence of the *connubium* between Rome and Alba. **10.**

**fuerat**: the use of *fui* and *fueram* for *sum* and *eram*, in the compound tenses of the passive, is characteristic of Livy.

**portam Capenam**: this gate, through which passed the *Via Latina*, was one of those in the wall of Servius Tullius, and so did not exist at that time; but the name indicates the locality of the occurrence. **11. paludamento**: here 'military cloak;' generally it means the purple or scarlet cloak of the commanding general, assumed on going out to war. **13.**

**animus**: 'wrath.' **15. increpans**: 'speaking vehemently' or 'violently;' it has no object here. **16. inmaturo**: 'untimely,' inappropriate to the occasion. **19. patribus**: here means patricians, constituting with the *plebs* the whole community. **20. facto obstat**: 'was a set-off against his deed.' **ad regem**: the king was the supreme judge of the community, but he could delegate his judicial power.

**23. Duumviros:** probably an extraordinary commission for the case in hand; though they are often identified with the permanent *quaestores parricidii*. **perduellionem:** 'high treason;' he had usurped the sovereign power in presuming to punish his sister, and so had committed an act of hostility to the state. The crime, aside from this aspect, was murder, *parricidium*. **Perduellio:** from *duellis*, 'a public enemy;' cf. *duellum* = *bellum*, just as *duis* = *bis*, *duonus* = *bonus*, etc.; the earlier (*d*) *u* is in many words replaced by a later *b*. **24. secundum legem:** it seems better to regard this phrase as limiting *facio*, than as limiting *iudicent*; the former implies that this appointment was made under a general law governing such cases. **horrendi carminis;** the law was contained in a (metrical) formula horrible in its provisions. A. 215; H. 396, v.; G. 364. **26. provocazione certato:** 'let him prosecute his case by appeal' (to the people). Under the monarchy the king seems to have had the option of allowing or refusing the privilege of appeal; it became a constitutional right in capital cases, by the Valerian laws passed in the first year of the republic.

**27. obnubito . . . suspendito, verberato:** the subject of these imperatives is the *licitor* who carried out the sentence of the magistrate. Such easily supplied words are usually omitted in the concise phraseology of statutes. By the veiling of his head, the criminal is marked out as devoted to the infernal gods, to whom also barren trees (as well as barren animals) were sacred. The 'barren tree' became in time a gibbet. **arbori:** an old locative form like *humi*, *domi*, etc., or else an ablative of place with the preposition omitted. **28. intra . . . vel extra:** generally executions were outside the walls. **pomerium:** for the etymology of this word, cf. note on p. 54, l. 25. **29. qui se absolvere non rebantur . . . posse:** the law said *iudicent*, 'condemn,' and their judgment would but bring the case before the people on appeal.

**Page 33. 2. inciebatque:** conative imperfect; 'he was just about to throw.' **auctore Tullo:** 'by permission of Tullus;' the king's consent, necessary for the appeal, is given. **4. ad = apud.** **6. patrio iure:** the *patria potestas*, the power of the *pater familias* over all members of his family was unlimited, extending in early times even to life and death. In a

case involving capital punishment, however, it was usually exercised with the advice of a family council. *Vide* Morey, Outlines of Roman Law, Per. I., chaps. i., ii. **7. animadversurum fuisse**; represents *animadvertissem* of *oratio recta*. A. 337, 2, b, 2; H. 527, III.; G. 662. **10. Pila**: may be understood as neuter plural, 'weapons,' i. e. 'trophy,' or feminine singular 'pillar.'

**13. furca**: a fork-shaped frame, laid upon the shoulders of the criminal, whose arms were stretched out and tied upon its limbs, preparatory to the scourging which preceded execution. **23. ipsius**: 'of the culprit himself.'

**25. ut . . . lueretur**: while the legend of the Horatii and Curiatii cannot be entirely accounted for, some of the features of the story are manifestly aetiological. There was at Rome an altar to *Iuno Sororia*, where certain sacrifices were offered by the *gens Horatia*, though at public expense. In the same street, which led from the *Carinae* along the western slope of the Esquiline to the *Vicus Cyprius*, and just where one approached this altar, was a beam fixed in the opposite walls, called *sororium tigillum*, from the neighboring altar, apparently; and under this beam the Horatii, when sacrificing, passed, it seems, with head veiled as was usual in the Roman ritual, when sacrificing. This suggested the idea of passing under the yoke (a sign of humiliation) in expiation of a crime committed by a Horatius against his sister. In the vicinity was an altar to *Ianus Curiatius*, which suggested that this was the same Horatius who fought against the Curiatii, in the combat commemorated by the *Pila Horatia* in the Forum. Such is, in substance, the explanation of Schömann, quoted more fully by Professor Seeley (Livy, I., Introduction). **26. imperatum patri**: impersonal construction. A. 230; H. 301, I; G. 199, R. I.

**29. sub iugum**: a conquered army was sent under the yoke as a sign that it received life and freedom only by the mercy of the victor. **33. saxo quadrato**: 'hewn stone.' A. 244, 2; H. 415, III.; G. 396, R. 2.

**Page 34. CHAP. XXVII. 1. Nec**: adversative; 'but . . . not.' **Invidia**: 'dissatisfaction.' **3. vanum**: 'unstable,' 'vacillating.' **8. ex edicto**: 'after formal proclamation.' **10. colonia**: abstract, in apposition to concrete *Fidenates*. Cf. ch. xiv. end. **13. ab Alba**: Livy generally



uses *ab* with the name of a town from which motion starts. **ducit**: as often, without an object; 'marches.' **14. confluentes**: accusative plural, agreeing with *Tiberim et Anienem*. Some regard it as a proper name, like the German *Coblentz* (a modernized form of *Confluentes*), at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle. **19. legionem**: 'levy,' 'army,' not 'legion.' This is the original meaning. **Albano**: i. e. Mettius; not an instance of the use of the singular representing the collective body. **21. Inde** = *deinde*. **22. erigit**: 'leads upward,' 'causes to ascend.' **23. ordines explicat**: 'deploys his ranks.' **24. qua . . . inclinare vires**: 'to lend his strength to that side to which fortune should give the victory.' **Miraculo**: predicative dative, the so-called dative of service. A. 233; H. 390; G. 350. **26. latera**: the right flank only, but the plural perhaps indicates that several divisions had their flank exposed on that side. **28. in re trepida**: 'in this dangerous crisis.' **Salios**: the *Salii Quirinales* or *Agonales* must be here intended. The *Salii Martiales* or *Palatini* were said in ch. xx. to have been established by Numa. **Pallori ac Pavori**: the gods who inspire fear and panic in the enemy; by some authorities identified with Picus and Faunus, the Lares Hostilii, to whom was ascribed the protection of the city against enemies.

**Page 35. 2. id (esse) . . . rati**: 'believing it to be true.' **5. coloni**: the former inhabitants, Etruscans, may have been allowed to remain at Fidenae with the new settlers from Rome. The latter must have been driven out at the beginning of this revolt. **essent**: A. 320, *e*; H. 517, 3, 1); G. 636. **Latine sciebant**: 'understood Latin.' **6. intercluderentur**: the battle must have been south of the city. **8. Veientem**: singular for plural. **alieno povere**: 'the panic of the others' (the Fidenates). **10. ab tergo**: they must have changed front, for at the beginning of the battle the river was on their flank, unless here the Anio is meant, and not the Tiber. The historian seems to lose sight of the conquered enemy in the deeper interest of what now befel the Albans.

CHAP. XXVIII. **16. devictos hostes**: 'upon the defeat of the enemy.' **18. Quod bene vertat**: a stereotyped formula, with the tense of the verb unchanged even in

dependence on a secondary tense, *iubet* being historical present. **19. sacrificium lustrale**: this was usually performed before battle. *Lustralis* is one of several adjectives in *-alis* first brought into prose by Livy. **in diem posterum**: 'to take place the next day.' **21. ab extremo orai**: 'beginning at the furthest part of the camp.' **22. etiam**: 'also;' introducing a second reason why they stood nearest, the first being that they were first summoned. **27. Romani**: a vocative standing first is unusual and emphatic. **quod . . . ageretis**: 'any reason why you should return thanks.' A. 320; H. 503, I, N. 2; G. 634. **29. hesternum . . . proelium**: we should have expected *hesterno in proelio* to correspond with *in bello*, and may translate accordingly. **30. non magis**: we should say 'not so much.'

**Page 36. 1. illud**: refers to the action of the Albans; it is subject, and *meum imperium* is predicate. **2. consilium**: 'artifice.' **3. ignorantibus**: i. e. in order that you — not allowed to know that you were being deserted — might not have your attention diverted, and give up the fight in discouragement. The participle agreeing with *vobis* expresses the means whereby this purpose was to be attained. So also *ratis*, l. 4. **8. ductor . . . machinator . . . ruptor**: notice the climax, the second and third of these words having each a more emphatic position than its predecessor. **12. Quod . . . sit**: 'may this prove,' etc. Cf. note on p. 22, l. 25. **15. civitatem**: 'citizenship.' **plebi . . . patres**: the historian takes for granted distinctions of *status* in Alba corresponding to those at Rome; but it should be remembered that the *plebs* was not yet part of the *populus* at Rome. **29. in diversum iter**: 'in opposite directions.' **30. qua . . . membra**: 'where his limbs had remained fast in the chains.' **33. supplicium . . . exempli**: hypallage; translate *supplicii exemplum*. **34. legum humanarum**: 'the dictates of humanity.' **In aliis**: 'otherwise.'

**Page 37. CHAP. XXIX. 2. multitudinem**: 'population.' **Legiones**: the infantry, as distinguished from *equites*. **6. clamor . . . cursus** = *clamantes hostes et currentes per urbem armati*; metonymy. **7. omnia . . . miscet**: 'causes

universal confusion.' *Miscet* is poetical for *implet*; cf. Aen. ii. 487. 8. *defixit*: 'stupefied.' 9. *prae metu*: 'for very fear'; causal, to be connected with *deficiente consilio*. 11. *errabundi*: Livy is fond of verbal adjectives in *-bundus*. A. 164, *p*; H. 333, 1. 12. *ultimum illud*: 'then for the last time.' A. 240, *b*; H. 378, 2; G. 331, R. 3. 13. *instabat*: 'began to press.' *fragor* (*frangere*): 'crash.' 16. *quibus . . . elatis*: i. e. *iis, quae quisque efferre poterat, elatis*; attraction of the relative with omission of the antecedent. 17. *larem*: the *lar familiaris*, the spirit of the ancestor of the family, the guardian genius of the house. 18. *continens agmen*: 'an unbroken procession.' 20. *vocesque . . . miserabiles*: 'sorrowful cries.' 22. *velut captos*: 'prisoners, as it were, in the hands of the enemy.' 24. *passim* (*passus, pandere*). Cf. note on p. 4, l. 31. 25. *quibus*: 'during which.' The accusative would be more natural. A. 256, *b*; H. 379, 1; G. 392, R. 2. 26. *templis*: dative; 'the temples were spared.' *Temperare* is also followed by the ablative with *ab*; used here probably because no perfect passive of *parcere* is in use. The worship of the distinctively Alban gods remained in its old seat, and in their case the *sacra* were not transferred to Rome.—The foregoing chapter has always been regarded as one of the finest descriptive passages in Latin literature.

CHAP. XXX. 30. *civium*: Livy includes the 'plebeians among the citizens, having no idea of the distinction, still existing at that time, between the patricians, who were citizens, and the plebeians, who were only residents. *quo*: A. 317, *b*; H. 497, II., 2; G. 545, 2.

Page 38. 1. *eam*: assimilated in gender to the predicative accusative, *sedem*. 2. *deinde*: 'from that time on.' *habitavit*: intransitive. *in patres*: i. e. he gave the heads of the principal houses seats in the senate. 3. *Iulios*: from p. 21, l. 10, it appears that there were already *Iulii* at Rome in the reign of Romulus. We are not to suppose that these six *gentes* were the only ones thus treated; but these, at least, were in after times regarded as of Alban origin. 4. *templumque*: a meeting place formally marked out and consecrated by the augurs. The senate often met also in the

temples of particular gods. Cf. Aul. Gell. xiv. 7: (*Varro*) *docuit, nisi in loco per augurem constituto, quod templum appellaretur, senatusconsultum factum esset, iustum id non fuisse.*

**5. Hostilia**: it was customary at Rome to name public works after the magistræ under whose charge they were constructed, e. g. the *Via Appia* and the *Circus Flaminius* were named respectively after the censors under whom they were built. The Curia Hostilia stood on the northeast side of the Comitium, facing nearly south. For the history of the building, *vide* Middleton, Ancient Rome I. 237 sqq.

**7. omnium ordinum**: the three orders of senators, knights, and people.

**8. decem turmas**: ten troops of thirty men each, added to the previously existing three centuries.

**11. Hac fiducia virum** = *harum fiducia virium*; causal ablative.

**12. secundum**: 'next after.'

**14. Feroniae**: a goddess of spring, of flowers and of love, worshipped in common by Sabines, Etruscans, and Latins, at whose temple near Mount Soracte (or, as some say, at Trebula Mutuesca in Sabina) annual fairs were held. At her altars it was customary to emancipate slaves.

**16. suos**: probably refers to criminals and runaway slaves, who would have taken refuge in the *asylum* at Rome, so that *retentos* does not mean 'detained against their will,' but 'not delivered back' to the Sabines.

**17. haud parum**: litotes, i. e. the affirmation of something by denying its contrary; this is stronger than an ordinary affirmation.

**19. adiectione**: this word, used only twice by Livy, does not appear in any earlier writer. Wsb.

**22. residuas bellorum iras**: 'the lingering resentment caused by former wars.'

**defectionem**: does not here mean a revolt; in which sense it could apply to subjects only, but a breach of treaty obligation. Veii had not yet been subdued by Rome.

**25. nam de ceteris minus mirum est**: 'in the case of the rest (of the Etruscans) there was less matter for surprise;' i. e. the Veientes had been engaged in war with the Romans, while the other Etruscans had not, and so had no special motive for attacking them in concert with the Sabines. The Veientes presumably would not have refused, if they had not been bound by their truce. But the truce made with Romulus (ch. xv.) seems to have been already broken (ch. xxvii.) and there is no mention of its renewal.

**27. vertique in eo res**

**videretur**: 'and it seemed to be merely a question which,' etc. **28. occupat . . . transire**: 'anticipated the Sabines by crossing into their territory' (before they had time to enter his); cf. note on p. 18, l. 27, *occupant . . . facere*. **29. Silvam Malitiosam**: in Sabina. **32. Ab . . . investis**: 'by a sudden charge of the horsemen.' **33. constare**: 'stand their ground,' in ranks; **explicari**: 'scatter' in flight; we must translate by a personal active construction; the passive is impossible in English.

**Page 39. CHAP. XXXI. 1. in**: the preposition is necessary with an ablative of characteristic, when not accompanied by an attributive (adjective or its equivalent), but here we find preposition and adjective both. **3. lapidibus pluviasse: pluere** is generally construed with the ablative; this is a prodigy of frequent occurrence in the later books of this history; it may have been a shower of meteoric stones. **4. missis**: the substantive, easily supplied, is wanting. **5. in conspectu**: sc. *eorum qui missi erant*. **7. caelo**: strict prose would require *de caelo*. **Visi (sibi sunt)**. **8. luco**: the grove of Jupiter Latiaris was upon the summit of the *Mons Albanus* (now Monte Cavo), eighteen miles southeast of Rome. **10. Romana sacra**: the Roman *sacra*, as well as the Alban, had been brought from Lavinium, consequently the Albans could readily adopt the Roman worship, though it had been modified by Numa and by the union with the Sabines. A great part of their religion was common to all Latins. **11. ut fit**: 'as is natural.' **12. Romanis**: dative, as in poetry, for the ablative with *ab*; this case indicates especially the interest of the person involved in the action of the verb, as opposed to mere agency. **13. voce . . . missa**: causal ablative absolute, corresponding to *monitu*, l. 15.

**15. haruspicum**: (*lepós*, Boeotian *lapós*, Etruscan *harus*; *specere*), soothsayers, apparently originally Etruscan, but certainly very early found at Rome, if not indigenous there; their office was to interpret just such omens as the one in question; they were skilled also in the lore of lightning, but derived most of their information as to the future from the inspection of the entrails of animals killed in sacrifice. *Vide* Excursus on Prodigies, in Capes' Livy, p. 316, sqq. **quandoque** = *quandocumque*.

**16. feriae per novem dies**: these were extraordinary observances, specially proclaimed in each instance; *feriae legitimae*, occurring regularly, were a matter of course. **18. pestilentia**: an epidemic disease, not necessarily 'the plague.' **19. cum**: concessive. **21. iuvenum**: 'men of military age.' **24. regium**: 'worthy of a king.' **26. obnoxius**: 'a victim to.' **religionibus . . . impletet**: 'occupied the whole time of the people with religious observances.' **28. requirentes**: 'regretting.' **29. corporibus**: the Romans often said 'bodies,' where we say 'selves.' **pax veniaque**: 'peace and pardon,' 'favor and compassion.'

**Page 40. 1. Iovi Elicio**: cf. p. 25, l. 31, for the meaning of this epithet. **operatum**: 'occupied,' 'busy.' **4. speciem**: 'manifestation,' 'vision.' **sollicitati**: 'disturbed,' 'irritated.' **5. conflagrasse**: the subject is *cum* to be inferred from *ei*, l. 3.

CHAP. XXXII. **7. ab initio**: i. e. after the death of the first king. **8. ad patres**: 'to the senate.' **10. fuere auctores**: cf. note on p. 22, l. 21. **Numae . . . nepos**: thus a Sabine king follows a Ramnian, Sabine at least on his mother's side; his father is not mentioned. **11. filia**: A. 244, *a*; H. 413; G. 395. **Qui ut**: 'when he.' **13. cetera**: accusative of specification. A. 240, *c*; H. 378; G. 332. **15. sacra . . . facere**: the king as the head of the state religion performed some of the *sacra publica* in person, others by deputy, through the pontiff, flamens, single *gentes*, etc. **16. commentariis**: a collection of ritual directions existed in later times, attributed to Numa and other early kings.

**17. pontificem**: sc. *maximum*. **in album**: 'upon a whitened tablet.' **in publico**: probably at the *domus regia*, as the official residence of the chief pontiff was afterward called. This knowledge, which had previously been a monopoly of the priests, was also in later times kept secret by the pontiffs. **19. abiturum (esse)**: 'would turn back' (from Tullus' style of reign). **21. foedus**: not previously mentioned. **sustulerant animos**: 'had plucked up courage.' They felt themselves bound only so long as Tullus, with whom they had concluded their treaty, lived. **22. repetentibus**: 'when they demanded restitution;' dative. **23. desidem**: predicative; 'would pass

his reign in inaction.' **25. memor**: construe with *ingenium*; 'possessing qualities of,' 'reminding of.' **26. praeterquam quod . . . credebat**: 'beside the fact that he believed,' etc. A. 333; H. 540, iv., n.; G. 525. **27. etiam**: sc. *credebat*, 'he also believed.' **28. quod**: relative pronoun, referring to following *id.* **illi**: i. e. to Numa. **sine iniuria**: i. e. without putting up with insult and injury from the surrounding nations. **30. Tullo regi**: 'to a king like Tullus.' **32. proderentur**: 'published' and so 'instituted.'

**Page 41. 2. Aequiculis**: a branch of the Aequi, living, however, in Sabina. Some regard them as mythical, simply *ei qui aequum colunt*. **fetiales**: fecials are mentioned as existing already in the previous reign (ch. xxiv.) so the original establishment of the college cannot be attributed to Ancus. **4. Legatus**: the *pater patratus*; cf. ch. xxiv. **res repetuntur**: *res repetere* is primarily to demand the return of things wrongly taken, probably at first plunder from farms; then it came to mean satisfaction for wrongs in general. **7. fas**: personification. **8. iuste pieque**: rightly by human and divine law. **9. Peragit**: this formal proclamation was called *clarigatio* (*clare*, i. e. *clara voce*, and *agere*). **11. dedier**: archaic for *dedi*; this and other such forms are relics of the language of the ancient formulas employed. A. 128, e, 4; H. 240, 6. **patriae compotem**: a perjurer suffered civil and religious excommunication. **12. siris**: syncopated form of *siveris* (*sinere*). **suprascandit**: archaic. **14. concipiendique iuris iurandi**: 'and of the phraseology of the oath.' **17. peractis**: there is nothing here to show that the fecials did not remain during the interval, but from ch. xxii. we should infer the contrary custom. **18. Iane Quirine**: Janus the god of beginnings is generally invoked first, even before Jupiter. Janus Quirinus is the god of the beginning (and ending) of war. **caelestes . . . terrestres . . . inferni**: the gods of heaven, earth, and hell, three great classes; it would be impossible to call each by name.

**21. maiores natu**: i. e. the senators. **22. consulemus**: they could not, of course, do this in person: that was the province of the king. **24. consulebat**: the imperfect shows that the general practice is in view, not merely the present

instance. **Quarum** = *de quibus*; the genitive in this sense is common in legal phraseology, which was generally archaic. **rerum**: 'stolen property.' 25. **litium**: 'subjects of litigation.' **causarum**: 'questions of law,' or 'claims.' **condixit**: 'has made demand'; *condictio* is the legal term for the summons by a plaintiff of a defendant to appear before a magistrate in thirty days; *vide* Sandars' Justinian, Introd., § 95. 27. **dederunt**, etc.: *dare* is to give what one is under obligation to give, generally the payment of money; *facere*, the performance of any obligation, not specifically giving, though that also may be included; *solvere*, payment of penalty, damages, or indemnity for wrongs committed. So Wsb. distinguishes them. 29. **quid censet**: sc. *de iis*, antecedent of *quarum*, l. 24. 36. **Quod**: 'whereas.'

**Page 42. 4. censuit, consensit, conscivit**: alliteration is common in ancient formulas. 6. **ego populusque**: 'I, as the representative of the nation.' 8. **ubi dixisset**: the subjunctive rather than the indicative is used here to denote the action as habitual, and thus corresponding with the imperfect tense of the principal verb. Roby, Lat. Gr. 1716. A. 322, 309, *δ*; H. 518, 1; G. 569, R. 2. *Ubi*, here, is 'whenever.' **hastam**: the ceremony of throwing the spear upon declaring war was preserved till the time of the empire; as the frontiers were extended, the ceremony became symbolical, and the spear was hurled from the temple of Bellona in Rome; *vide* Leighton, Hist. Rome, 41.

CHAP. XXXIII. 11. **demandata**: 'intrusted during his absence.' 13. **Politorium**: the exact position of this town is unknown, owing to its early disappearance. 16. **circa**: 'on both sides of.' **veterum Romanorum**: the Ramnes of *Roma Quadrata*, the Romulean city on the Palatine. 17. **Capitolium atque arcem**: the southern and northern peaks respectively of the Capitoline; this hill seems to have been a common stronghold of the double state, while the distinctive seat of the Sabines was the Quirinal, as is clear, at least, in the sphere of religious institutions. **Caelium**: cf. ch. xxx. 18. **Aventinum**: generally masculine, agreeing with *mons*; the highest of the hills of Rome, south of the Palatine, from which it was separated by the valley of Murcia. This settlement of the



Aventine cannot have been very complete, for by the *lex Icilia*, B. C. 454, part of this hill was assigned, as a part of the *ager publicus*, to the plebeians. **19. Tellenis**: somewhere to the south of Rome, early destroyed. **Ficana**: eleven miles from Rome on the road to Ostia. **20. rursus . . . repetitum**: pleonasm. **24. Medulliam**: a colony of Alba northeast of Rome; cf. p. 48, l. 20. **compulso**: 'concentrated.' Apparently this was a war with the Latin league. **26. in aperto**: 'in the open country.' **27. cominus . . . signa contulerat**: 'had engaged in hand to hand conflict.' **28. Ad ultimum**: 'finally.'

**Page 43. 1. ad Murciae**: a Grecism; sc. *aram*; in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine, which apparently was not then drained; cf. p. 48, l. 28. *Murcia* is a surname of Venus, by some explained as *Myrtea*, by others as connected with *mulcere*; cf. *Mulciber* (Vulcan). **Ianiculum**: a high hill on the northwest bank of the Tiber; a natural bulwark against the Etruscans. **2. ea**: assimilated in gender to the predicate noun *arx*. **4. ponte Sublicio**: 'bridge of piles.' For certain reasons, supposed to be religious, but probably in origin military, no iron was allowed to be employed in its construction. It was necessary to destroy it quickly sometimes, because of invasions. Its exact position cannot be certainly determined. **5. Quiritium . . . fossa**: a moat, where the ground around the city was flat. **6. a . . . locis**: 'on the sides approachable upon a level;' a large part of the defences of the city consisted in the steep faces of the hills.

**8. multitudine**: Ancus was traditionally regarded as the founder of the *plebs*, as a distinct order in the state, and consisting of the free inhabitants of conquered towns. The plebeians, then, were not the clients of particular patrician houses, but rather under the protection of the king as head of the commonwealth, and while possessing private rights, had no share in the political rights, which remained as yet the exclusive property of the full burgesses, known as patricians. **9. carcer**: the Mamertine prison, now entered from the church of S. Pietro in Carcere, consists of two vaults, one above the other. The lower and older, the Tullianum, attributed to Servius Tullius, is a circular vault narrowing to the round open-

ing at the top, by which alone it was entered from the upper chamber. This vault was probably the well-house of the early Capitol, protecting the spring which supplied the water needed by the garrison. In this place the Catilinarian conspirators were put to death by the order of Cicero, and tradition says that SS. Peter and Paul were confined here, and that the spring arose miraculously to enable them to baptize a convert. 11.

**hoc rege**: temporal ablative absolute. 12. **silva Mesia**: extending along the right bank of the Tiber, below Rome. 14. **Ostia**: on the left bank; the coast has risen, and its ruins are now three or four miles inland. **salinae**: shallow pits into which the sea water was admitted, which, upon evaporating, left the salt behind. **circa**: 'on both sides.' 15. **aedis**: nominative.

CHAP. XXXIV. 16. **Lucumo**: originally, at least, this was not a proper name, but the common designation of the ruling class, the nobles of Etruria. 18. **Tarquiniis**: locative; one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan league. 20. **Demarati**: the Bacchiadae, the aristocratic rulers of Corinth, were expelled by a revolution about 657 B. C.; the traditional chronology places the reign of Ancus 640-616 B. C. Demaratus, however, may be only a personification of the influence exercised by Greece upon the arts and civilization of Etruria, and, indirectly, of Rome. **seditiones**: cf. note on p. 3, l. 6. 25. **relicta**: has the meaning of a present passive participle; *vide* Nägelsbach, Lat. Stil. 260. 26. **ventrem ferre**: 'was with child.' 27. **in nullam sortem bonorum**: 'to no share in the property;' but by the Roman law posthumous children received a share in the property of their fathers. 28. **Egerio**: from *egere*. 30. **animos**: 'ambition.' **ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil**: 'his marriage with Tanaquil.' 31. **his**: 'than that position,' 'those relations.'

**Page 44.** 1. **quo** = *in quae*; the adverb represents a case with its preposition. 2. **Spernentibus**: a stranger could not gain admission to the nobility of Etruria. 3. **ingenitae erga patriam caritatis**: it has been observed that the Latin has no single word for 'patriotism.' 4. **videret**: A. 314; H. 513, l.; G. 575. 5. **ad id potissimum**: 'most desirable for that object.' 6. **repentina**: 'of rapid growth.' 7. **virtute**:

'merit.' **forti ac strenuo**: qualities specially admired by the Romans. **8. Sabinum**: 'though a Sabine.' **10. una imagine Numae**: in later times at Rome a family first became noble when one of its members attained a curule office. The waxen masks of such men hung in the *atrium* of their descendants. In this instance the later language is applied naturally enough to the earlier age. **11. cupido**: dative, agrees with the indirect object of *persuadet*. **12. esset**: A. 320, *e*; H. 517; G. 636. **14. carpento**: *in* omitted, as is constantly done by Livy, and especially with *sedere*. This was a covered two-wheeled cart, used by priests and women, and for transporting goods. **15. suspensis . . . alis**: 'gliding gently down on motionless wings;'; **demissa**: has a middle force. **pilleum**: a close cap of felt.

**21. eam alitem**: some birds were regarded as harbingers of good, others of ill fortune; particular ones were looked upon as the messengers of particular deities, the eagle as coming from Jupiter. **regione**: i. e. the favorable quarter. **22. culmen**: an augural term, here = *caput*. **23. humano**: antithetic to *divinitus*. **25. L.**: i. e. **Lucium**: this name appears here as an adaptation of Lucumo. There was an early *gens Tarquinia* at Rome; the name Tarchnas appears in Etruscan inscriptions. That the former name was identical with or derived from the latter is traditional, but cannot be regarded as historically certain. **26. Priscum**: an original surname, not one afterwards applied to distinguish this Tarquin from Superbus; at least, Livy so understands it. Other families had this surname. **28. comitate**: coördinate with *conciliando*. **beneficisque**: instrumental ablative with *conciliando*. **30. Notitiamque . . . iura**: 'he developed mere acquaintanceship into the relations of intimate friendship.' **31. liberaliter**: 'handsomely;'; *liberalis* expresses the qualities proper for a free man, the character of a gentleman, as opposed to anything servile, mean, low, or small-spirited. **33. per omnia**: 'in all capacities.' **expertus**: passive, though the verb is deponent. **34. tutor**: 'guardian;'; in case of intestacy it was an agnate kinsman that was appointed to this office. But the earliest written law recognized the power of a father to appoint by will guardians for the children who had been under his *potestas*. Morey, Outlines of Roman Law, 254.

**Page 45.** CHAP. XXXV. 3. *Iam filii*: the sons of Ancus seem to have regarded themselves as the proper successors to the throne, yet the monarchy nowhere appears hereditary, but always elective. 4. *comitia*: i. e. *curiata*. *regi creando*: A. 299, *b*; H. 544, 2, N. 3; G. 430. 5. *fierent*: 'be held;' by the *interrex*, who alone could hold them. *sub tempus*: 'as the time approached.' 6. *petisse ambitiose*: 'canvassed for the crown.' 7. *orationem*: this must have been before the meeting of the *comitia*, at which voting only took place. 8. *plebis*: here again we find the anachronism of regarding the plebeians as at that time citizens with the right of voting. 13. *ultra*: 'voluntarily' on the part of the Romans. *ex quo*: 'since;' = *ex eo tempore quo*. 14. *sui potens*: a Roman son was subject to the *potestas* of his father until he was emancipated, or his father died. Then he became *sui iuris* or *sui potens*. A. 218, *a*; H. 399, 1, 3; G. 373. 17. *sub haud paenitendo magistro*: 'under a teacher that he did not need to be ashamed of;' the litotes has equal force in English. 18. *iura*: 'civil;' *ritus*: 'religious institutions.' 22. *iussit*: this is the vote of the *comitia*. 23. *cetera egregium*: 'in other respects admirable.'

25. *centum in patres legit*: these *patres minorum gentium* seem to have been, in fact, the heads of certain important plebeian houses, raised to the patriciate, or, in other words, made full burgesses. In ch. xvii., but one hundred senators are spoken of, and in Book II., ch. i., the regular number of three hundred is implied. We suppose the second hundred to have come from the Sabine half of the state after the union under Romulus and Tatius. 28. *ibi* = *in Latio*. The treaty of alliance with Ancus appears dissolved by his death. *Apiōlas*: position unknown. 30. *fama*: nominative. 31. *priores reges*: the previous existence of the *ludi Romani* in some form is here taken for granted, though not mentioned, and yet they are ordinarily spoken of as founded by Tarquin.

**Page 46.** 1. *locus*: the valley of Murcia, between the Palatine and Aventine. 2. *spectacula*: 'stands,' from which to view the games. 3. *Spectavere*: sc. *patres equitesque furcis . . . sustinentibus*: ablative absolute; the object of

the participle is *spectacula*. 4. *Ludicrum fuit*: 'the sports consisted of.' 7. *circa*: i. e. on the long sides, northeast and southwest. The Forum was in the valley between the Palatine and Quirinal, with the Capitol at the northwest end. Shops and money-changers' stalls afterward occupied these sites, but buildings can hardly have stood here before the drainage of the Forum had been effected. *aedificanda*: 'to build upon.'

CHAP. XXXVI. 9. *Muro . . . lapideo*: afterward finished by Servius Tullius, and called by his name. 16. *equitem*: singular for the collective *equitatum*. 17. *viribus*: A. 231, *a*; H. 386; G. 346. 18. *addere alias constituit*: it was his purpose to form three new centuries, independent of and distinct from the old ones. 19. *Id*: the formation of the original centuries. 20. *inaugurato*: 'after consulting the auspices.' Livy often uses the perfect participle alone in the ablative absolute, as here. This is unusual, though not unknown, in earlier writers. *Attus Navius*: his story is told by Cicero (*De Div.* i. 17). 22. *nisi aves*, etc.: it is implied that the king had not intended to consult the auspices about this matter. *adixissent*: a technical word = *admisissent*. 23. *eludensaque*: 'mocking.' *artem*: the augural science. *Age dum*: *dum* is intensive with the imperative. 24. *divine*: sarcastic, 'man of God,' 'inspired one.'

26. *animo*: *animus* includes the will and purpose; *mens* is the purely intellectual faculty. 28. *aves tuae*: is ironical. 30. *comitio*: (*co(m)ire*, 'meeting place') the northeast portion of the Forum. 31. *gradibus*: a flight of steps led up to the Curia. *fuit*: this implies that the statue no longer stood there in Livy's time. The attitude of the figure may have suggested this tale of a miracle. Moreover there was, near by, a *puteal*, i. e. an enclosure marking as sacred from human touch a place where lightning had once struck. *ootam . . . sitam*: it was customary to bury, in such places, a flint as a symbol of the thunderbolt. Possibly a piece of iron buried with the flint may have figured in popular imagination as the razor of Navius.

Page 47. 1. *certe*: contrasted with *ferunt*, p. 46, l. 29. The influence of the augurs is henceforward widened to a greater variety of objects, as well as intensified in force. 3. *auspicato*:

cf. note on p. 46, l. 20. **concilia populi**: the organized meetings of the *plebs* were called *concilia*. **exercitus vocati**: 'musterings of the army'; probably the author means meetings of the *comitia centuriata*, a political assembly constituted, as will appear later, on a military basis. **4. summa rerum**: 'the most important matters'; *summa* is neuter plural, *rerum* partitive genitive. **5. dirimerentur**: an augur was always present when *comitia* were to be held, and if he pronounced the omens unfavorable, saying "*alio die*" (*obnuntiatio*), the assembly was adjourned.

**6. alterum tantum**: neuter as substantive; 'as many again.' **7. mille et octingenti**: there seems to be here a confusion with the eighteen equestrian centuries established by Servius Tullius. Previous to this time there appear to have been three centuries, one from each of the tribes. These had been enlarged by Tullus (p. 38, l. 8), but even allowing for this, we do not get eighteen hundred. **8. Posteriores . . . isdem nominibus**, etc.: 'those that were added were called by the same names, but *posteriores*,' i. e. *Ramnes posteriores*, *Tities posteriores*, and *Luceres posteriores* or *secundi* to distinguish them from the R. T. and L. *priores* or *primi*; so that formally, instead of new centuries, they became halves of the old, but the three doubled centuries were spoken of as six, and later were called the *sex suffragia*, i. e. the six patrician centuries, among the eighteen equestrian centuries of the Servian constitution.

CHAP. XXXVII. **11. Hac parte**: the cavalry. **13. missis**: agreeing with the implied antecedent of *qui*; 'by sending men to,' etc. **14. vim**: 'quantity,' 'mass.' **15. ardentem**: 'setting it on fire as they did so.' **conicerent**: A. 317, 2; H. 497, 1; G. 545, 1, 632. **16. pleraque in ratibus**: 'for the most part lying upon rafts,' or 'formed into rafts.' **sub-lilis**: construe with *inpacta*. **17. haerent**: the burning timbers, striking the piles, were arrested, the rafts being too large to pass through, and so set fire to the bridge, which had secured the retreat of the Sabines in case of defeat. **19. mortales**: poetic for *homines*. **effugissent**: concessive as well as temporal. A. 325, 326; H. 515, III.; G. 588. **20. fluitantia**: spears and wooden shields would readily float. **22. proelio**: A. 259, a; H. 429; G. 392. **23. ab cornibus**: 'on the wings.' **24. ita incurrisse**: 'charged so fiercely.'

**25. sisterent:** 'arrested.' **26. instantes:** accusative. **cedentibus:** i. e. the Roman foot. **27. petebant:** 'tried to reach.' **tenuere:** 'succeeded in reaching.' **29. instandum:** impersonal. A. 230; H. 301, 1; G. 199, R. 1, 208. **31. Vulcano:** god of fire. **32. et quamquam . . . res erant:** 'and though they had met with but ill success.' **33. gesturos melius:** 'that they would succeed better.'

**Page 48. 1. res:** 'the situation;' nominative. **2. tumultuario milite:** 'irregular, hastily levied soldiery;' the concrete singular *miles* for the collective *exercitus*.

CHAP. XXXVIII. **4. Collatia:** about ten miles east by north of Rome, on the Anio. **5. Sabinis:** A. 229; H. 385, 11, 2; G. 344. **Egerius:** cf. p. 43, l. 28. **6. in praesidio:** possibly a colony is intended, probably only a military occupation. **7. ita:** construe with *deditos*. **8. legati:** 'envoys;' **oratoresque:** 'spokesmen;' probably *fetiales*. **10. in sua potestate:** independent, and so entitled to dispose of itself. Sabine cities, like the Latin cities, belonged to a confederation, but preserved their separate independence. **12. delubra, utensilia:** i. e. *res sacrae* and *privatae* as well as *publicae*. **15. triumphans:** a triumph is here mentioned for the first time by Livy, yet in ch. x. Romulus is virtually represented as celebrating a triumph, though the express term is not used.

**16. Priscis Latinis:** communities of Latium, most of which, if not all, were older than Rome; to be distinguished from the later *coloniae Latinae*, colonies of Romans or Latins possessing the *ius Latii*, *cives sine suffragio*. **17. universae rei dimicationem:** 'a generally decisive conflict,' 'a battle decisive of the whole contest.' **18. nomen:** by metonymy for 'the nation.' **19. Corniculum, etc.:** these towns lay between the Tiber and Anio and the *Mons Lucretilis*. **21. defecerant:** after being previously in the hands of the Romans.

**23. Maiore . . . animo . . . quam . . . bella:** 'with an energy that exceeded the effort with which he had carried on the wars.' **25. fuisset:** A. 342; H. 529, 11.; G. 666. **26. qua:** 'where.' **27. infima . . . loca:** the Velabrum, the valley of the Great Circus and, *circa forum*, the low portions of the Subura, the *Vicus Tuscus* and *Vicus Iugarius*; the Forum itself must have been drained at this time or previously. **29.**

**cloacis**; (*cluere*, to cleanse), sewers, vaulted and subterranean, built of heavy blocks of tufa without mortar. **fastigio**: 'on an incline,' with a downward slope. **32. occupat fundamentis**: to secure a large level site, it was necessary to build up walls from the slopes of the hill and fill in the enclosed space with earth; *fundamentis* refers to this substructure. It was upon the southwest peak of the Capitoline.

**Page 49. CHAP. XXXIX. 2. puero**: A. 235, *a*; H. 384, II., 4, N. 2. **4. ad**: 'in consequence of.' **tantae rei miraculum**: 'so extraordinary an event.' **5. reges**: 'the king and queen.' **familiarium**: 'of the domestics;' the *familia* included all persons, free or bond, under the *potestas* of the *pater familias*. **9. in secretum**: 'aside;' neuter adjective as a substantive. **Viden** = *videsne*; a poetic and colloquial form. **10. humili cultu**: 'simply.' **11. Scire licet**: 'it is evident.' **rebus nostris dubiis**: refers to the future. **12. materiam**: 'one who has the capability of.' **13. publice privatumque**: 'in public and private relations.' **omni indulgentia nostra**: 'with all the kindness in our power.' **14. liberum loco**: 'as their own child;' *liberum* is genitive plural. **15. ad magnae fortunae cultum**: 'to the style of living suited to a high station.' **17. cordi**: A. 233, *a*; H. 390; G. 350. **esset**: causal, the cause being not simply stated as a fact, but rather by way of inference from the prodigy, 'because, as might be supposed, it was,' etc. A. 321; H. 516, II.; G. 541. **evasit**: 'turned out.' **indolis**: A. 215; H. 396, v.; G. 364. **18. quaereretur**: A. 323, 325; H. 521; G. 586. **Tarquinio**: dative of agent and interest.

**21. Hic . . . habitus**: 'the fact that such respect as this was paid, for whatever reason it may have been.' **22. serva**: tradition said her name was Ocrisia. Another version of the story makes the *lar familiaris* of the royal house the father of the child. **27. prohibitam**: 'rescued.' **28. mulieres**: Tanaquil and Ocrisia. **30. eductum**: 'brought up;' strictly *educatum*, as in line 10, *supra*, would be the correct word, but the distinction was not always observed. **fortunam . . . fecisse**: 'that the misfortune of his mother, in having fallen into the enemy's hands upon the capture of her home, caused the belief that he was the son of a slave



woman.' **31. venerit:** perfect where we should expect a secondary tense.

**Page 50. CHAP. XL. 3. maximo honore;** ablative of quality. A. 251; H. 419, II.; G. 402. Cf. *in caritate*, p. 49, l. 30, where the ablative has no attributive and a preposition is necessary. **4. filii duo:** the period starts with *filii* as subject of the principal verb, but at *tum inpensius* the construction changes; the original subject is represented by *iis*, dative of reference, and *indignitas* now becomes the subject of a different verb from that originally intended (*indignabantur*). Such a violent change of construction is called anacoluthon. **5. fraude:** cf. ch. xxxv. **6. non modo:** elliptical = *non modo dicam*. **8. si . . . rediret:** *si* here is equivalent to *quod*; it introduces the ground of their feeling; the subjunctive represents the cause as occurring to their minds — 'if, as they thought,' etc.; A. 340, 341, *d*; H. 528; G. 665. **9. servitia = servos;** abstract for concrete. Livy has just been at pains to show that Servius was not of servile birth.

**10. centesimum:** more precisely one hundred and thirty-nine years. **quod:** relative pronoun, object of *tenuerit*; construe: *id regnum servus possideat quod Romulus tenuerit*. **11. deo prognatus:** antithetical to *serva natus*. **tenuerit:** for the mood cf. note on *rediret*, l. 8; for the tense, note on p. 6, l. 4. **19. superesset . . . futurus erat:** cf. note on *deductura erant*, p. 10, l. 10. **23. quibus, etc.:** construe: (*iis*) *ferramentis, quibus consueti erant*, etc.; *ferramentis* is instrumental ablative with *convertunt*, but attracted into the relative clause. **26. appellarent:** 'appealed to the king' (to decide their quarrel). **27. pergunt:** H. Tiedke (Hermes, xviii. 619) thinks we should strike out the period after this word and make the two following infinitives depend upon it. **31. Dum . . . se . . . totus averteret:** while he was giving his whole attention to one, and so turning away from the other. Classical usage puts the indicative with *dum* in this sense, but Livy here treats *dum* like *cum*. **32. deiecit:** 'brought down' (with force).

**Page 51. CHAP. XLI. 1. moribundum:** A. 164, *p*; H. 333, I. **qui circa erant:** 'the bystanders.' **2. illos fugientes:** 'them as they fled,' not 'those fleeing.' **Clamor:** sc. *fuix*.

**3. mirantium**: plural agreeing with the individuals conceived of as composing the collective *populi*; this is an instance of *σχῆμα κατὰ σύνεσιν*, *constructio ad sensum*; cf. p. 100, l. 22, *pars magna nantes*. **quid rei esset**: 'what was the matter.'

**4. arbitros** = *testes*; cf. note on p. 26, l. 14. **5. quae . . . opus sunt**: A. 243, e, R.; H. 414, IV., N. 4; G. 390. **6. sub-esset**: A. 312; H. 513, II., N. 1; G. 604.

**7. praesidia**: means of securing the sovereignty in the family if Tarquin should die.

**10. sinat**: A. 331; H. 498, I.; G. 546. **11. facinus fecere**: Livy also says *pugnam pugnatam* (vi. 42, 5); *bellum bellatum* (viii. 39, 16); *odisse odio* (ii. 58, 5). **12. hoc**: we should rather expect *istud*, the demonstrative of the second person.

**15. peregrini**: concessive. **Qui**: interrogative adjective; 'what kind of man.'

**16. unde** = *ab, de, or ex qua*. It was only his mother that was a slave, his father had been *princeps Corniculi* (ch. xxxix.). **consilia torpent**: 'your faculties are paralyzed.'

**18. ex superiore parte**: 'from the upper story.' In general a Roman house had no windows on the first floor, looking into the street; all the apartments faced inward upon courts open to the sky; the upper story had small windows facing the street.

**19. Novam Viam**: the *Via Nova* began at the Porta Mugonia, and went around the north and west sides of the Palatine.

**20. ad Iovis Statoris (aedem)**: a Grecism; we say 'near St. Peter's.'

**21. sopitum**: 'stunned.' **23. ad se rediisse**: 'had recovered consciousness.'

**24. omnia salubria esse**: 'that all was progressing favorably.' **Confidere**: sc. *se*.

**25. ipsum**: i. e. *regem*. **iubere**: sc. *regem*. **26. dicto audientem esse** = *parere*; *dicto* is variously explained, as dative of reference and ablative of cause. A. 227, N. 2; H. 390, II., N. 3; G. 345.

**27. trabea**: 'Suetonius dicit tria esse genera trabearum, unum dis sacratum, quod est tantum de purpura, aliud regum, quod est purpureum, habet tamen album aliquid, tertium augurale, de purpura et cocco mixtum.' Servius on Verg. *Aen.* vii. 612.

**28. sede . . . sedens**: notice the absence of *in*.

**31. fungendae vicis**: *fungor* is here treated as a transitive verb. This use of deponents which are construed with the ablative is exceptionally frequent in Livy.

**32. palam factum est**: i. e. that the king was dead. **conploratione**: 'the death-wail,' raised in a house at the death of

one of the family. It was customary to call aloud the deceased by his name. **33. praesidio**: 'body-guard.' **iniussu populi**: 'without election by the people.'

**Page 52. 3. opes Servi**: i. e. before he ascended the throne, while the king was still believed to be alive. **Suessam Pometiam**: so called to distinguish it from Suessa Aurunca, was a Volscian town, of which the position cannot be precisely determined.

**CHAP. XLII. 9. Tarquiniis**: the *nomen* agreeing with more than one *praenomen* is always plural. These men were the brothers-in-law of Servius, cf. p. 49, ll. 19, 20, and marriage between uncle and niece was not permitted by the Roman law. **rupit**: 'was able to obviate;' involving the idea of prevention, this word is properly followed by a *quin* clause; rather than a clause with *ut* . . . *non*. A. 319, d; H. 505, II.; G. 547, 550. **fati necessitatem**: 'the unalterable course of destiny.' **10. quin invidia . . . faceret**: 'that envy of the throne should create general distrust and hostility even among the members of his family.' **13. indutiae**: there is no mention of a truce made by Tarquin, nor of any war of his with the Etruscans. **15. haud dubius rex**: 'now sure of the throne.' **16. seu . . . periclitaretur**: *seu* = *sive*. A. 315, c. The reason for the mood and tense appears upon the expansion of *dubius* into a clause: *haud dubium erat quin rex crearetur, seu*, etc. It will be recalled that Servius had begun to reign *iniussu populi*.

**19. divini . . . iuris**: 'the religious system' of the state. **21. ordinumque**: refers to the various classes described in the next chapter. **22. aliquid interlucet**: 'some visible distinction is made;' this use of *interlucere* is almost unique. **fama ferrent**: 'should award him the distinction of being.' **Censum** (*censere*): an assessment of patricians and plebeians without distinction. **24. viritum**: by all individuals alike without distinction of wealth. **pro**: 'in proportion to.' **25. classes**: (*κλήσεις, calare*), 'callings,' 'classes.' **hunc**: 'the following.' **26. ordinem**: 'arrangement,' 'distribution.' **ex**: 'according to,' 'on the basis of.' **decōrum**: adjective; 'suitable.' This was at once a military organization and a political constitution.

**CHAP. XLIII.** The classification originally made upon this reform of the constitution was based, not upon a money valua-

tion, but upon the number of *iugera* of land owned by each man. The change to the money basis was made long afterward, perhaps by Appius Claudius the censor, in 312 B. C. Moreover the sums mentioned cannot be the original ones, as the libral *as* must have been originally contemplated, and these figures probably refer to the triental *as* (four *unciae*), the weight to which the *as* was reduced from a supposed weight of twelve *unciae* (really about ten) in 269 B. C., just before the first Punic war, at which time silver was first coined. Copper (*aes*) was first coined under the Decemvirate 451 B. C. *Vide* Roby's Lat. Gr. I., p. 444, sqq., for the value and history of the *as*. Moritz Müller and Tücking consider the *as* here counted as one fifth not one third of the *libra*. **27. millium**: substantive; sc. *assium*.

**28. centurias**: companies in war, units in voting in the *comitia*, each century casting one vote, determined by the majority of individual voices. The numbers in the centuries must have varied greatly in the different classes; for the first class, containing the richer men, had far more centuries than any one of the lower classes, containing the poorer men, who must have been more numerous. Further, the *seniores*, who must have been less numerous than the *iuniores*, formed the same number of centuries. **29. seniorum**: from forty-six years upward. **iuniorum**: seventeen to forty-six years. **classis**: the first was *classis par excellence*; the others were often called *infra classem*; cf. our 'classic.'

**Page 53. 1. ut . . . essent, ut . . . gererent**: clauses of purpose, depending on *confecit*. **2. galea**, etc.: the student will find descriptions of all these pieces of armor in Guhl and Koner's *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, sec. 107. It is sufficient here to mention that the *clipeum* (or *clipeus*), a small round shield of metal, which was large enough for those who wore the *lorica*, was replaced in the second class, where no *lorica* was worn, by the large wooden *scutum*, covering the whole person. **5. fabrum**: genitive plural; carpenters and smiths; they voted with the first class, but did not constitute part of it. Different authorities, however, assign these extra centuries to different classes. **6. machinas**: 'engines,' chiefly used in sieges. **7. intra . . . millium**: from one hundred thousand (not inclusive)

down to seventy-five thousand. **12. voluit**: 'he determined.' **16. arma mutata** = *alia arma imperata*; *arma* means both armor and weapons. The first three classes made up the heavy infantry. **datum**: this does not mean that the state furnished the arms; that was done by the men themselves, the completeness of equipment varying according to their property.

**17. aucta**: 'made larger' than the preceding. **18. accensi**: 'enrolled in addition,' but constituting part of, or at least attached to, the same class. **20. Hoc minor census**: 'an assessment less than this.' While land was the basis of assessment, this century consisted of those who owned none at all. They were free from military service except in time of extreme necessity. **21. habuit**: 'embraced,' 'contained.' **inde**: 'of this.' **22. ornato**: 'equipped.' **23. equitum**: taken from the richest men, patricians and plebeians. **24. Sex . . . centurias . . . sub isdem . . . nominibus**: retaining the arrangement of Tarquin as explained in note on p. 47, ll. 7, 8.

This is an instance of the extraordinary tenacity with which the Romans clung to old institutions, forms, and names, when no longer needed, or even, in many cases, understood. These six centuries were the so-called *suffragia* (Cic. de Rep. ii. 22, 39), and probably contained patricians only. **26. dena milia aeris**: the *aes equestre*, paid once for all. **27. quibus**: neuter; its antecedent is *bina milia*. **viduae**: 'unmarried women.' **28. bina milia**: two thousand yearly for each knight, not from each woman; this was the *aes hordearium*. These figures do not properly apply to the first census.

**30. honos**: 'political privilege,' antithetic to *onera*. **31. viritum**: in the *comitia curiata* every member had the right to vote in his own *curia*, irrespective of his property, each *curia* casting one vote according to its majority of individual voices. But Livy regards plebeians and patricians as having voted together indiscriminately, while we suppose that the plebeians did not possess citizenship prior to this reform.

**34. vis omnis penes primores**: it will be readily seen by the following table that the *equites* and first class alone had a majority of all the centuries.

Equites . . . . .	6 ( <i>suffragia</i> ) old . . . . .	+ 12 new centuries . . . . .	18
1st Class, { 20 <i>ingera</i> or 100,000 <i>asses</i> , }	40 centuries of <i>seniores</i>	40 centuries of <i>juniores</i> , 80	
2d Class, { 15 <i>ingera</i> or 75,000 <i>asses</i> , }	10 " " "	10 " " "	20
3d Class, { 10 <i>ingera</i> or 50,000 <i>asses</i> , }	10 " " "	10 " " "	20
4th Class, { 5 <i>ingera</i> or 25,000 <i>asses</i> , }	10 " " "	10 " " "	20
5th Class, { 2 <i>ingera</i> or 11,000 <i>asses</i> , }	15 " " "	15 " " "	30
no valuation,	{ <i>Fabri</i> 3 centuries : <i>cornicines</i> and <i>tubicines</i> , 2 centuries, }		4
6th Class, { no land, or less than 11,000 <i>asses</i> , }	1 century . . . . .		1
193			

**35. vocabantur:** 'were called on to vote.'  
'if there was a difference of opinion.'

**36. variaret:**

**Page 54.** 1. *ut . . . vocarentur, nec . . . descenderent*: the clauses depend on some principal verb in the imperfect indicative, — ‘it was customary’ or the like; the subject of *descenderent* is the magistrates who held the comitia, or else is quite indefinite. 3. *hunc ordinem, qui nunc est*: the thirty-five territorial tribes were completed in 241 B. C.; the arrangement here spoken of as existing in the author’s time was such that each tribe had a century each of *seniores* and *iuniores* in each class.

Each tribe  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{1st Class, 1 century } \textit{seniores}, \text{ 1 century } \textit{juniores} \\ \text{2d} \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \\ \text{3d} \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \\ \text{4th} \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \\ \text{5th} \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \quad \text{ " } \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad 5 \quad \quad \quad + \quad \quad \quad 5 \quad \quad \quad = \quad \quad \quad 10 \end{array} \right\} \times 35 = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 70 \\ 70 \\ 70 \\ 70 \\ 70 \\ \hline 350 \end{array} \right.$

i. e. exclusive of *equites*, twice as many centuries as under the former scheme ( $193 - 18 = 175$ ).      4. *duplicato* . . .

**seniorumque:** the expression is obscure and inexact; it was the centuries that were increased in number, not the tribes, of which there were never more than thirty-five, and there were twice as many centuries in each class as the whole number of tribes, and twice as many altogether (excluding *equites*) as under Servius' plan.

7. **regionibus . . . habitabantur** : 'according to the districts and hills that were inhabited;' though this was merely

a division of the city, Livy regards it as including all the Romans. Other writers, however, speak also of rural tribes. The *regiones* were *Palatina* (Ramnes), *Collina* (Tities), *Suburana* (Luceres), and *Esquilina* (the suburbs). **8. tributo**: this word, of course, is formed from *tribuo, tribus*; (*tri, bu = fu*; cf. *fui, φύω*). The idea of a threefold division appears from the beginning of the national history. The *tributum* was not a regular tax, but an extraordinary contribution to the treasury, regarded as a forced loan, and to be repaid when the treasury should be full again. **9. aequaliter**: 'proportionally.' **10. neque . . . quicquam pertinere**; 'and had nothing to do with,' etc.

CHAP. XLIV. **12. metu**: fear of the severe penalties of the *lex de incensis*. **13. latae**: the technical word for the passage of a bill by an assembly of the people. **15. Campo Martio**: outside the city, for the people in the *comitia centuriata* was the army, and an army might not enter the gates except for a triumph. **16. instructum**: i. e. armed and arranged by classes and centuries. **suovetaurilibus**: a hog, a sheëp, and a bull were first driven around the assembled people and then sacrificed to Mars. **17. conditum**: agrees with *id*, and *lustrum* is predicate nominative. **18. milia LXXX**: it is needless to say that the number is too high for this early time. **19. Fabius Pictor**: *vide* Introduction, p. viii. **22. colles**: the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline are north of the Palatine and Caelian, separated from them by a valley; they are long ridges which at the east unite into a plateau. **23. Esquilias**: 'suburbs' (*ex-quilinus* from *ex-colere*, cf. *inquilinus*).

**24. Aggere**: from the vicinity of the Colline Gate to the Esquiline hill the ground was level, and artificial fortification was necessary. This was accomplished by a *fossa* thirty feet deep and a hundred feet wide at the bottom, the earth taken from which formed an embankment (*agger*), which was faced and supported by a massive stone wall. Portions of this vast work still remain at Rome near the railway station. *Vide* Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1888, pp. 66, sqq. **muro circumdat**: now first the "seven hills," as we understand the term, were surrounded by a ring wall. **25. Pomerium**: (*post, murus, moerus*; cf. *punire, poena*); Mommsen (*Hermes*, x. 1, 40, sqq.)

declares this to be a space inside the walls, between them and the houses. Others take it to be a strip of ground consecrated and left vacant on both sides of the wall. **verbi vim**: 'the etymology.' **27. circamoerium**: on both sides, within and without the wall. **28. Etrusci**: they ran a furrow with a plow, drawn by a heifer and a bullock, round the proposed site, lifting the plow wherever there was to be a gate. The earth was turned inward as the beginning of the rampart, while the furrow was the beginning of the fosse.

**Page 55. CHAP. XLV. 6. omnibus**: neuter. **8. consilio**: 'policy.' **9. decus**: i. e. the temple of Diana. **Iam tum inclitum**: it would have been surprising if the temple of the Ephesian Artemis were then famous at Rome, as it was built only about 600 B. C. **10. communiter**: this was a common sanctuary of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor. But it is to be noted that Rome was not a member of the Latin league, but allied with it as an equal over against the whole confederacy. **11. Asiae**: Asia Minor. **12. deosque socios** = *deorum consociationem*. **13. proceres**: the aristocratic governing classes. **publice**: the *hospitium publicum* insured to the citizens of a friendly state hospitality, succor in difficulty, a share in public solemnities, legal protection and assistance. **14. Saepe iterando eadem**: pleonasm. **15. Dianae**: the goddess of brightness (feminine of *Dianus, Ianus*), a very old Latin goddess. When identified with the Greek Artemis, she acquired the attributes of the latter. **17. confessio**, etc.: this does not necessarily prove that Rome exercised hegemony at this period; there were several common religious centres in Latium.

**21. ex Sabinis**: it appears from the context that the relation of the Sabines to this sanctuary was similar to that of the Latins. There is nothing improbable about this when we reflect that Rome was a Sabino-Latin city. **22. cuidam patris familiae**: 'a certain man of property;' tradition said his name was Antro Curiatius, reminding one of the Alban *trigemini*. Ihne maintains that Alba was a Sabine town. Livy always says *pater familiae*; *familias* is the older form. **24. vestibulo**: the space between the columns of the porch and the entrance of the *cella*, the 'porticc' **26. cecinere**: 'predicted,'



'prophesied;' poetry and prophecy were looked on as due to the same sort of inspiration; so that the names for the two sets of notions are the same, e. g. *vates*, a seer or a poet. **27. carmen**: 'prediction;' prophetic utterances were often in verse. **29. ut prima**: generally we find *ut primum*. **30. deducit**: cf. note on *deductus*, p. 23, l. 24. **32. fama**: ablative. **33. inceste**: 'unwashed;' *incestus* (*in, castus*) is whatever desecrates by defiling.

**Page 56. 1. Quin**: (*qui non = cur non*), 'why not.' **vivo**: 'running,' 'flowing,' as was necessary for ceremonial purification. **2. perfunderis**: with middle force. **3. Religione**: 'conscientious scruple.' **4. cuperet**: A. 320, e; H. 517; G. 636.

CHAP. XLVI. **7. usu**: 'by prescription;' a legal phrase. **8. iactari voces**: 'that insinuations were thrown out.' **11. ferre ad populum**: i. e. to the new *comitia centuriata*; here we have the prototype of a consular election under the republic. It was by Servius' reform that, for most purposes, the *comitia* of the centuries took the place of the *comitia* of the curies. It will be remembered that previous elections of kings had been by the vote of the curies, upon the nomination by an *interrex*. **vellent iuberentne**: the regular expression for a *rogatio* in such cases. **14. spem adfectandi**: 'hope of success in his efforts to secure.' **inpensius**: construe with *criminandi*. **15. agro**: the patricians had always regarded private occupation of the *ager publicus* as their exclusive privilege; hence their opposition to the liberal measures of Servius. **16. crescendique**: 'and of increasing his own influence.' **17. et ipse . . . et . . . uxore . . . stimulante**: a curious change of construction, recalling a similar one, p. 3, l. 13, 14, *profugum . . . ducentibus*.

**19. Tulit**: 'produced,' 'afforded.' **sceleris tragici**: crime fit for the theme of a tragedy; the crimes of the Pelopidae and of Oedipus formed the motive of some of the greatest of Greek tragedies. So Livy says 'the royal house of Rome also.' **20. regum**: objective genitive. A. 217; H. 396, III.; G. 361, 2. **21. ultimumque regnum**: Tarquin II., who obtained the throne by crime, was the last king of Rome, and was banished 510 B. C. **22. filius neposne**: when we remember that Tarquin I. reigned

from 616 B. C., having come to Rome at a mature age (ch. xxxiv.), and that Tarquin II. was alive after the battle of Lake Regillus, 498 B. C., we shall not be inclined to regard the latter as the son of the former. **27. ne duo**, etc.: not *ut non*, for the idea of purpose is hinted at in *fortuna*; as if it had been the purpose of destiny to avoid this union of evil natures, so fatal to the nation. **29. constituique**, etc.: 'that the (reformed) constitution of the state might become firmly established.' **30. ferox**: an adjective is not usually joined immediately to a proper name, but as there were two Tullias, this specifies which one is meant.

**Page 57. 1. muliebri cessaret audacia**: 'was deficient in the boldness which (as she thought) became a woman.' **4. viri alieni**: of another's (i. e. her sister's) husband. **5. de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum**: 'about her own husband to his brother, about her sister to her sister's husband.' **6. viduam**: 'unmarried.' **11. adolescentem**: Servius married his daughters to the sons of Tarquin at the beginning of his reign (ch. xlii.), which had lasted forty-four years. A man was ordinarily called *iuvenis* from seventeen to forty-six, *adulescens* from seventeen to thirty. **12. Ita Lucius**: the MSS. have *Arruns*, a manifest blunder of the author or the copyists. **13. funeribus**: by the murder of their respective consorts.

CHAP. XLVII. **16. infestior**: 'more insecure;' passive instead of the usual active sense. **19. ne gratuita**, etc.: the past murders availed nothing unless Servius were put out of the way. **20. non sibi defuisse**, etc.: 'that she had not been in need of one to whom she might have the name of being married.' **23. Si tu es**: mark the abrupt change to *oratio recta*. cui: A. 227, 3; H. 385, II., N. 3; G. 345, R. 2. **24. appello**: 'I salute thee as,' etc. **25. res**: 'my situation.' **istic**: 'in thee;' adverb from demonstrative pronoun of the second person. **26. accingeris**: passive in middle sense. **27. peregrina regna**: 'a kingdom in a foreign land.' **29. imago**: cf. note on p. 44, l. 10. **regia**: 'belonging to a king.' **regale**: 'like a king;' but here the two words are used with one meaning, simply for variety. **32. Facesse**: 'take your self off.'

**Page 58.** 1. *deolvere*, etc.: 'sink down again to the original level of your family.' *fratris*: A. 234, *d*; H. 391, II., 4; G. 356, R. 1. 3. *si = quod*; cf. p. 50, l. 8, and note. 6. *nullum momentum . . . faceret*: 'exerted no influence.' 7. *muliebribus . . . furiis*: 'by the passionate ambition of his wife.' 8. *minorum . . . gentium patres*: i. e. those who had been raised by his father to the patriciate and senate. 10. *iuvenes*: the young men, who were not in the senate. 11. *regis criminibus = regem criminando*. 14. *pro curia*: in the front part of the senate house, not in front (outside) of it; cf. "*pro rostris*." 15. *ad regem*: the king alone had authority to summon the senate, which was his advisory council. 17. *ne non venisse fraudi esset*: 'lest it should be the worse for them if they did not come.' *fraudi*: A. 233, *a*, and foot-note; H. 390; G. 350.

18. *de Servio actum*: sc. *esse*; 'that it was all up with Servius.' 19. *ab stirpe ultima orsus*: 'starting from his very origin' (ch. xxxix.). 20. *sui*: 'his own,' i. e. the speaker's. 24. *odio alienae honestatis*: 'in his hostility toward the honorable position of others,' contrasted with his own ignoble birth. 25. *sordidissimo cuique*: 'to all of the meanest class.' 27. *fuertint*: notice the use of the perfect where we should look for the pluperfect.

**Page 59.** CHAP. XLVIII. 2. *ad haec*: 'in reply to this.' 4. *per licentiam*, etc.: 'by playing his insolent game he had long enough insulted his masters.' 9. *medium*: 'about the waist.' A. 193; H. 440, N. 1; G. 324, R. 6. 10. *in . . . gradus*: 'down the steps to the bottom.' 11. *ad cogendum*: the sitting had broken up and the members had to be assembled again. 14. *non abhorret a cetero scelere*: 'it is not inconsistent with the rest of her connection with the crime,' i. e. her conduct in the immediate sequel. 16. *nec reverita*, etc.: the appearance of women in public at times of excitement was regarded as indecorous. 18. *prima appellavit*: A. 191; H. 442, N.; G. 324, R. 7. 20. *Cyprium vicum*: this street ran along between the Carinae and the Quirinal. *Dianium = sacellum Dianae*. *flectenti = flectere iubenti*. 21. *dextra*: 'to the right.' *Urbium olivum*: this street went up the Esquiline from the highest part of the

*Vicus Cyprius.* 24. *inde traditur scelus*: 'from this point on, the crime is commemorated,' by the name "*vicus Sceleratus*." 26. *amens agitantibus furiis*: 'maddened by the avenging spirits.' 28. *sanguinis ac caedis*: hendiadys. 30. *quibus iratis*: 'by whose wrath.' *prope diem*: 'soon;' yet Tarquin reigned twenty-four years before his fall. 34. *iusta*: though his original occupation of the throne was of the nature of a usurpation, it had been confirmed and made legal by the vote of the people.

Page 60. 1. *ni . . . intervenisset*: elliptical, i. e. 'and would have carried out his intention, had not,' etc. *intestinum*: 'in his own family.'

CHAP. XLIX. 3. *occepit*: archaistic. *Superbo*: 'the Overbearing,' rather than 'the Proud;' he overrode all restraints of right and custom. 5. *Romulum . . . insepultum*: cf. p. 21, l. 6. 6. *Servi rebus*: 'the cause of Servius.' 8. *capi*: learned from him and turned against him. 9. *Neque . . . ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim*: 'nothing by way of right to the throne but forcible possession;' rather a self-contradictory expression. 12. *spei*: partitive genitive. *reponenti* agrees with the agent of *tutandum esset*. 14. *capitalium*: affecting the "*caput*" of a citizen, i. e. his physical or civil existence,—his life, liberty, or reputation. *sine consiliis*: though the power of decision of causes lay with the king himself, it had become customary that he should take, in hearing them, the advice of senators of legal experience. This is one of the customs that Tarquin disregards.

17. *unde = a quibus*. 18. *in patres legere*: appointment to the senate was one of the king's powers. 19. *ordo*: this term for the senate belongs to the period of the late republic and the empire. 22. *domesticis consiliis*: 'with the advice of his intimate friends.' 23. *foedera*: alliances for mutual protection. *societates*: for active undertakings; so Heynacher distinguishes these words. 28. *Tusculano*: Tusculum was a town of Latium, southeast of Rome on the Alban hills. 30. *oriundus*: a rather poetic word, = *ortus*; *ab* is used with the names of remote ancestors, not with those of parents. Tradition said that Mamilius was the son of Mamilia, daughter of Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe.

**Page 61.** CHAP. L. 2. *ad lucum Ferentinae*: the grove of Ferentina, the meeting place of the representatives of the Latin League, the present valley of Marino, was on the northern shore of the Alban lake. 3. *indicit*: this implies that Tarquin held the presidency of the confederation. 4. *Conveniunt*: i. e. the representatives of the cities in the league. 5. *ante quam sol occideret*: sittings might be held only between sunrise and sunset. 7. *iactata sermonibus*: 'discussed'; they could not pass a vote in the absence of the president. 8. *Aricia*: a Latin town on the (later) Appian Way, south of and quite near the Alban lake; now La Riccia.

9. *Superbo*: agrees with *ei* understood. 10. *mussitantes*: 'muttering under their breath'; the word is borrowed from the language of comedy. *vulgo tamen*: the name was already in common use, though, for fear of the tyrant, men did not speak it aloud. 11. *an quicquam . . . esse*: a rhetorical question. A. 338; H. 523, II., 2; G. 654, R. I. 13. *indixerit*: notice the repeated use in this speech of primary tenses of the subjunctive in the subordinate clauses where secondary tenses would be expected. This is a favorite device of Livy, the effect being increase of liveliness and vividness, by transferring the reader to the temporal standpoint of the speaker.

15. *obnoxios premat*: 'treat them as his subjects,' i. e. oppress them as slaves. 16. *Quod si sui bene*, etc.: *quod* refers to *imperium*; 'if his own citizens had done well in intrusting authority to him, or if it had been intrusted to him at all, and not (as the fact was) seized by murdering (the late king), even then the Latins should not commit authority to him, as he was a foreigner.' 24. *eodem pertinentia*: 'to the same effect.' *seditionus*: it is hardly fair to call him so, as he was not a subject of Rome. 25. *artibus*: 'means,' 'methods,' with special reference to the qualities expressed by the foregoing adjectives; it might be rendered 'qualities' in this case. 26. *cum maxime*: 'just when.' 28. *monitus . . . ut purgaret*: A. 331; H. 498; G. 546. 29. *id temporis*: 'so late.' A. 240, b; H. 378, 2; G. 331, R. 3. *disceptatorem*: 'an arbitrator,' chosen by the parties to a dispute. 32. *Ne id . . . tulisse tacitum*: 'that Tur- nus did not let even this pass without remark.'

**Page 62.** 4. *habiturum infortunium esse*: the subject is *filium*; 'he would get the worst of it,' 'it would fare ill with him,' because of the *patria potestas*, the father's legal power of life and death over his children. *Infortunium* is a colloquial term, used by Plautus and Terence for the scrapes of slaves.

CHAP. LI. 6. *aliquanto*: limits *aegrius*. 9. *pro imperio*: 'by virtue of his royal authority,' which applied to Rome only. 10. *poterat . . . oppressit*: notice the awkward change of subject. *oblato falso crimine*: 'by trumping up a false charge.' 11. *adversae factionis*: the partisans of Tarquin. 12. *vim*: 'quantity.' 15. *principibus*: it was the aristocrats who sided with the Roman king. 17. *inlatam*: 'occasioned.' *saluti*: cf. note on *fraudi*, p. 58, l. 17. **Ab Turno**: construe with *parari*; the infinitive clause is the subject of *dici*. 19. *ut . . . teneat*: notice in the subordinate clauses all through this speech the use of present and perfect subjunctives (exc. *peteret*, l. 21), where we should expect to find secondary tenses. *Adgressurum fuisse*: the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact in *oratio obliqua*. A. 337, b, 2; H. 527, III.; G. 662. 21. *peteret*: this is perhaps one of those cases where the ingenuity of scholars has been taxed to find a reason for what was only an unnoticed inconsistency of the author; it seems hard to say why this single imperfect should occur among the primary tenses, without becoming altogether fanciful. We can scarcely think that Livy meant to imply all that Wsb. understands from this tense. 28. **Suspectam fecit rem**: 'confirmed the suspicion.' 32. *nisi gladiis deprehensis*: translate as a conditional clause with finite verb; the use of *nisi* with an ablative absolute is not uncommon in Livy.

**Page 63.** 3. *locis*: 'corners.' 7. *indicta causa*: 'without a trial,' which did not seem necessary under the circumstances. 8. *novo genere leti*: i. e. unusual in historical times; Tacitus (Germ. xii.) shows that it was in use among the Germans; cf. also Plautus, *Poen.* v. 2, 65. *ad caput*: 'at the source,' 'fountain;' the *agua Ferentina* starting in the *lucus Ferentinae* empties into the Tiber some six miles below Rome.

CHAP. LII. 11. **novantem res**: 'attempting a revolution.' 12. **adfecissent**: a causal relative clause. 13. **omnes Latini**: cf. chaps. iii., xxxii., xxxiii., xxxviii.; it is not clearly stated before this that all the Latin towns were colonies of Alba. 15. **quo ab Tullo**: in the treaty made by Tullus (ch. xxiv.) there is no mention of colonies of Alba. *Ab Tullo* is by some understood as 'from the time of Tullus.' 22. **persuasum**: A. 227, 230; H. 385, II., 301, 1; G. 345, R. 3. 23. **superior . . . erat**: 'the supremacy of Rome was acknowledged.' **capita**: 'the chief men.' 25. **documentum**: 'warning.' 26. **iunioribus**: men of military age; cf. the centuries of *iuniores* in the constitution of Servius (ch. xliii.). 30. **secretum**: 'separate.' 31. **manipulos**: maniples, or double centuries, were in later times the smallest tactical unit of the legion; we suppose that at this early time the Romans fought in a phalanx, for the manipular organization was introduced, as Livy himself says (Bk. viii., ch. 8), at the time of the great Latin war, 340 B. C. **ex binis singulos**, etc.: one new maniple was formed of one half of two old ones, and the two halves of each old one now formed parts of two new ones, as each new maniple consisted half of Latins and half of Romans.

Page 64. CHAP. LIII. 1. **ut . . . ita**: 'though . . . yet.' 2. **pravus**: 'unskilful.' **quin**: 'nay even;' the construction is independent. 3. **degeneratum in aliis**: 'his degeneracy in other respects;' this use of a neuter participle for an abstract verbal noun is so common in Livy as to form a distinctive feature of his style. 4. **Volscis**: a nation of the Umbro-Sabellian stock, which had advanced from the mountains into the southern plain of Latium and occupied it as far as the sea. **in ducentos . . . annos**: 'that was to last (including its intervals of peace) more than two hundred years.' **ducentos amplius**: A. 247, c; H. 417, I. N. 2; G. 311, R. 4. 5. **Suessamque Pometiam**: the chief town of the Volscians; cf. note on p. 52, l. 3. 6. **quadraginta talenta**: following Fabius Pictor, who wrote in Greek, Livy uses the Greek term 'talent;' the only money in use in Latium at that time was copper, the sum here intended to be expressed was 1,000,000 *asses graves* = about \$50,000. 7. **con-**

**cepit animo**, etc.: 'formed a plan for so magnificent a temple of Jupiter as,' etc., i. e. the Capitoline temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

**10. Captivam**: this word is used several times by our author, referring to things without life, = *captam*; cf. p. 107, l. 17.

**12. Exceptit . . . eum**: 'claimed his attention.' **lentius spe**: 'which lasted longer than he had expected;' this is an instance of the so-called *comparatio compendaria*. A. 247, *b*; H. 417, I. N. 5; G. 399, R. I. **Gabios**: a Latin city about seven miles east of Rome.

**14. pulso**: A. 229; H. 385, II., 2; G. 346. **15. minime . . . Romana**: a patriotic remark that the historian feels called upon to make more than once in the course of his work.

**18. minimus**: sc. *natu*. **19. transfugit**: this is evidently a borrowed legend, not an historical fact; cf. the story of Zopyrus at Babylon (Herod. iii. 154).

**21. frequentiae**: 'the large number.' A. 221, *b*; H. 409, III.; G. 376. **24. inter**: 'from the midst of.'

**26. ne errarent**: elliptical; '(he informed them) that they might not be mistaken,' etc. A. 317, *c*. **28. Quod si**: 'but if.' **30. Aequos et Hernicos**: Umbro-Sabellian nations, in the north-east and east of Latium, respectively.

**Page 65. 3. si nihil morarentur**: colloquial; 'if they did not care for him;' the origin of the phrase was the formula used by a judge in dismissing an accused person when the charge was not sustained; cf. Livy iv. 42, 8, and viii. 35, 8; for the case of *nihil*, vide Roby, Lat. Gr. 1094; A. 238, *b*; G. 331, R. 3. **8. credere**: sc. *se*.

CHAP. LIV. **11. consilia**: 'deliberations.' **12. adsentire**: this verb is usually deponent. **13. auctor esse**: 'advised.' **17. rebellandum**: not 'rebel', but 'renew the war.' **20. vana . . . fides**: 'mistaken trust.' **21. ad ultimum**: 'at last.' **belli**: construe with *dux*.

**24. certatim . . . credere**: 'all agreed in believing.' **26. obeundo**: Tücking observes that we should expect rather *subeundo* or *adeundo*.

**27. pariter**: 'in like manner with the soldiers.' **largiendo**: plunder was often sold for the benefit of the state, and was then of no advantage to the individual soldier. **32. omnia unus**: antithesis, heightened by reversal of the natural order of the words.

**omnia . . . posset**: the use of the neuter adjective



is to express the extent of the action of the verb. Cf. note on l. 3.

**Page 66.** 2. **deliberabundus**: A. 164, *p*; H. 333, 1; this class of verbals is much affected by our author. The following story looks like an imitation of that of Thrasybulus and Periander (Herod. v. 92). 6. **ut re imperfecta**: 'as if he had not accomplished his errand.' 11. **sua . . . opportunos**: 'made easy victims by their own unpopularity.' 14. **volentibus**: 'if they chose it;' the construction is a Grecism (*βουλομένων μοι ἔστιν*); cf. p. 125, lines 10, 11. **fuga**: 'voluntary exile.' 15. **iuxta atque** = *pariter ac* or *aeque ac*; Livy often uses *iuxta* in this sense. **Largitiones**: i. e. distribution of confiscated property among the partisans of Sextus. 17. **consilio auxilioque**: *paronomasia*. 19. **in manu traditur**: the treaty with Gabii is said to have been extant in Livy's time in the temple of Sancus.

CHAP. LV. 20. **Aequorum**: in northeast Latium, between Mt. Algidus and the *Lacus Fucinus*. 21. **foedus**: agreements with the Etruscans were always truces for a fixed term of years (*indutiae*). 23. **monte Tarpeio**: the Capitoline hill, especially the southern part of it; this is the older name. 24. **Tarquinios**, etc.: this clause is epexegetical to *monumentum*; the idea is 'posterity should say that the two Tarquins,' etc. 25. **a ceteris religionibus**: 'from consecration to other deities.' 26. **esset tota**: *tota* is predicative, 'might belong wholly.' 27. **exaugurare**: the limits previously consecrated by the taking of auspices were now, by a similar ceremony, de-consecrated, that they might be free for a new purpose. 29. **pugnae**: cf. ch. xii. 31. **movisse numen**: 'exerted their power;' *numen* fr. *nuere*, to nod; a nod is a sign of will. 33. **Termini**: Jupiter Terminus, god of boundaries, was worshipped in the form of a boundary stone, in the vestibule of the *cella* of Minerva, one of the three divisions of the Capitoline temple. In Bk. v. ch. 54, we find an allusion to the rest of this legend, concerning *Iuventas*, who also refused to move.

**Page 67.** 1. **non motam . . . non evocatum**: 'the fact that,' etc. 3. **finibus**: elsewhere in Livy *evocare* takes *ex*

with the ablative.

**5. caput humanum:** it was further related that this was the head of a certain king Olus (*caput, Oli, um*), and the name of the hill was explained by this ludicrously naïve story, which is an extreme example of the etymological myth.

**6. aperientibus fundamenta:** 'as they opened the ground to lay the foundations.' **7. per ambages:** cf. p. 66, l. 10, p. 68, l. 26. **10. ex Etruria:** these must have been *haruspices*.

**Augebatur . . . animus:** 'his ambition was stirred to incur greater expenses.' **11. ad inpensas:** sc. *faciendas*. **Pomptinae = Pometinae:** 'of Suessa Pometia.'

**12. manubiae:** in a strict sense, were the general's share of the spoils.

**15. Pisoni:** vide p. ix. **quadraginta milia pondo:** reckoning one hundred pounds of silver to the talent, this would make four hundred talents instead of forty. It was usual to reckon only eighty pounds to the talent (Liv. xxxviii. 38, 13); even this would make an incredible sum for the period. **18. et nullorum . . . exsuperaturam:** 'and would more than suffice for the foundations of any of the splendid buildings even of these times.' This was written in the days of the emperor who 'found Rome of brick and left it of marble.'

CHAP. LVI. **20. ex Etruria:** the architecture of this period was mainly derived from Etruria, and this temple was in the Etruscan style, which was an ungraceful imitation of Doric forms.

**21. pecunia . . . publica:** *vectigalia*, tithes for the use of the *ager publicus*, etc.; the king appears as absolute in the disposal of the public funds and of the labor of the plebeians. **22. operis:** 'workmen;' A. 79, a; H. 132. **25. ut specie minora,** etc.: 'less showy in outward appearance, indeed, yet involving considerably more labor;' the second phrase shows a curious change of construction.

**26. foros . . . faciendos, cloacamque . . . agendam:** these gerundive phrases are in apposition with *opera*. **27. cloacamque maximam:** so called to distinguish it from other sewers, e. g. those mentioned in ch. xxxviii.; this magnificent drain, still doing its work, built of hewn tufa blocks, and about twelve feet in diameter, runs for more than two hundred yards under the Velabrum and carries the water, from the low ground of the Forum and vicinity, into the Tiber. Its mouth is partly visible, at the ordinary level of the river, in the stone embankment

which lines the shore. It is the main artery of a system of drainage that must have occupied many years in building. 31. *ubi usus non esset*: 'when there was no employment for them.'

**Page 68.** 1. *Signiam*: on the north side of the Volscian mountains in the valley of the Trerus (*terra*). *Circeosque*: on the promontory of Circe, the southern frontier town of Latium on the coast (*mari*). 3. *anguis*: a symbol of the genius of the house; snakes were common domestic pets. 6. *anxiis* . . . *curis*: 'anxiety for the future.' 8. *Delphos*: consultation of the Delphic oracle was very unusual; this is the first instance in Roman history. 9. *responsa sortium*: here in a general sense, 'answers of the oracle;' *sortes* were wooden tablets inscribed with certain signs, and by drawing or throwing them the minds of the gods were interrogated; this was a peculiarly Italian method of divination. 20. *factus ad imitationem*: 'accustoming himself to feign.' 21. *Bruti*: for the meaning of *brutus*, *vide* Lexicon. This whole story seems simply an attempt to account for his name. 22. *liberator*: an attributive adjective in this instance. 25. *inclusum* . . . *baculo*: Livy is the first author to omit the preposition with *includere*. The gift was a very valuable one for a man in Brutus' circumstances to offer. 26. *per ambages*, etc.: 'by way of symbolic representation of his own character.' 29. *ad quem*: for *ad. utrum*; they intend only themselves; but the oracle's answer '*qui primus*,' not '*prior*,' applies to a third person. 36. *alio* . . . *spectare*: 'had a different significance.'

**Page 69.** 3. *Rutulos*: in Latium, south of Rome, about Ardea; cf. ch. ii. Livy omits the story of the purchase of the Sibylline books, told by Dionysius (iv. 62).

CHAP. LVII. 5. *Ardeam*: an important town about twenty miles south of Rome. *ut in ea regione*: 'considering it was in that district;' the country around was swampy and unhealthy, but Ardea had a port on the coast and considerable commerce. 10. *regno*: not merely *regi*. 12. *si*: A. 334, f; H. 529, II, I, N. I; G. 462, 2. 13. *parum processit*: 'met with no success,' owing to the strong position of the city. 14. *ut fit*: 'as is generally the case.' 15. *commeatus*: 'furloughs,' 'leave of absence.' 17. *otium* . . . *tereabant* =

*tempus otio terebant.* 18. *apud*: 'at the quarters of —,' in the camp. 19. *Egerit*: cf. chaps. xxxiv. and xxxviii. 23. *Quin (qui non)*: 'why . . . not?' 24. *iuventae*: this word was introduced by Livy into prose. *praesentes*: 'with our own eyes.' 25. *nostrarum*: sc. *uxorum*. *spectatissimum*: 'the most striking, most signal proof.' Seeley thinks *cuique* refers to the wives, and that the expression is equivalent to *sit spectatissima quaeque secundum id quod*, etc. 28. *intenditibus tenebris*: 'as the shades of evening were falling.' 29. *Collatiam*: cf. note on p. 48, l. 4. 30. *convivio luxuque*: hendiadys.

**Page 70.** 2. *lanae*: spinning, carding, and weaving were the chief occupations of the Roman housewife; cf. the well-known inscription on the grave of a matron, "*lanifica, pia, pudica.*"

CHAP. LVIII. 12. *ignaris*: 'unsuspicious.' 14. *circa* = *quae circa erant*. *sopitique*: 'sound asleep.' 17. *moriere*: forms of second person passive in *-re* (rather than *-ris*) are rare in Livy. 18. *pavida ex somno*: 'awaking in affright.' 20. *versare . . . animum*: 'tried in every way to work upon her feelings as a woman.' 22. *ad metum dedecus*: 'fear of disgrace to fear for her life.' 24. *sordido*: i. e. with a 'mean' man, a slave. 25. *velut vi atrox*: this is one of the least objectionable conjectures as to the reading of a very perplexing line in the MSS. *Velut vi*: i. e. by threats he accomplished the same result as if he had used force. 26. *ferox . . . muliebri*: 'triumphing in his conquest of her womanly honor.' 29. *facto maturatoque opus*: 'need of action, and that speedily.' 31. *Valerio*: afterward called *Publicola*. *Volesi*: this praenomen does not occur elsewhere than in connection with this individual.

**Page 71.** 3. *suorum*: refers to the logical subject *Lucretia*, though the grammatical subject is *lacrimae*. 4. *Satin salvae?* = *Satisne salvae sunt res?* 'is all well?' *Minime*: colloquial; a strong negation like our 'anything but.' 7. *mors testis erit*: 'my death shall prove.' 9. *hostis pro hospite*: a favorite paronomasia of our author. 11. *pestiferum*: 'fatal;' construe with *mihi sibiue*. 12. *animi*: A. 218, c, R.;

H. 399, III., 1; G. 374, R. 3. **noxam**: 'guilt.' **15. videritis**: A. 266; H. 483, 2; G. 256. **18. prolapsa in vulnus**: 'her head sinking on her wounded breast' **19. Conclamat**: cf. p. 51, l. 32, and note.

CHAP. LIX. **25. scelerata**: especially because of her conduct toward her father; cf. ch. xlviii. **30. in Bruti pector-** 'in the breast of the Dullard.' **31. totique**: adverb 'altogether;' there is no adverb from *totus*.

**Page 72. 4. tum Brutus . . . auctor**: 'as well as the surprising fact that it was Brutus who reprehended ~~the king~~ and advised,' etc. **6. adversus hostilia ausos** = *adversus eos qui hostilia ausi essent*. **7. Ferocissimus quisque**: 'all men of spirit.' **10. regibus**: 'to any of the royal family.' **13. Rursus**: 'again,' 'on the other hand.' **14. haud temere esse**: 'that it was not without good reason.' **17. Celerum**: cf. p. 20, l. 19, and note. **18. magistratu**: the *tribunus celerum* was not a magistrate in the sense in which that word was used under the republic, but an officer subordinate to the king, and not having the right, as such, to call an assembly of the people. Here he is made to act, in the king's absence, like a republican Master of Horse in the absence of the Dictator; but, as Seeley remarks, these proceedings were revolutionary, not constitutional. Some editors consider it unlikely that an imbecile should be appointed to so important an office as this, and others regard the fact as a good illustration of the vicious methods of monarchical government, while the simple truth is that it is most unlikely that Brutus was a dullard at all.

**19. pectoris**: in the sense of 'character, disposition,' is rather poetic. **22. Tricipitini**: i. e. Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia. **morte**: construe with *indignior ac miserabilior*. **25. demersae**: used here only by Livy with *in* and the accusative. **26. circa**: used adjectively. **28. caedis**: older form of nominative; cf. *stirpis*, p. 4, l. 18; *aedis*, p. 43, l. 15. **30. praesens**: 'existing at that time.' **indignitas**: subjective; 'indignation.' **31. scriptoribus**: construe with *facilia*; the fiery indignation of the speaker could hardly be expressed by the historian. **subicit**: 'suggests' (to a speaker); present tense because it is a general truth. **32. imperium . . . abrogaret**: Tarquin had not been regularly elected by the people, nor had

he received the auspices from a properly constituted *interrex*; he was therefore a usurper, and the people had the right to take from him his *imperium*, which was *de facto* only. This would not have been true in the case of a king regularly and constitutionally appointed. **34. nomina dabant:** 'enlisted,' for service against Tarquin.

**Page 73. 1. praefecto urbis:** an officer left in command when the king, afterward when the consuls, left the city, "*qui ius redderet et subitis mederetur*" (Tac. Ann. vi. 11).

CHAP. LX. **7. flexit viam:** 'took another road.' **9. Ardeam:** the siege of Ardea and its result seems entirely forgotten in the interest of more important events. **12. Caere:** terminal accusative. **17. Regnatum:** sc. *est*, 'the monarchy lasted.' **18. Duo consules:** originally called praetors; these magistrates held at the beginning the same powers as the king, but there were two of them with equal authority, and their term of office was limited to a year. **19. comitiis centuriatis:** the assembly of all the citizens, patricians and plebeians, voting by classes and centuries. **a praefecto urbis:** it seems that this ought to have been done by an *interrex*; Dionysius says that it was so. The authority of a *praefectus urbis* ceased with the *imperium* of him who had appointed him. The sovereignty then would return to the *patres*, who would delegate it to an *interrex*. **a:** 'under the presidency of.' **20. ex commentariis:** 'according to the constitution.'

## BOOK XXI.

**Page 74.** CHAP. I. 1. *parte*: sharply contrasted with *summae totius*; 'a section of my work,' the third decade, of which the second Punic war was the subject. 2. *summae totius*: 'of a whole history.' Livy's work embraces the whole history of Rome; the works of others had embraced single periods only. 3. *maxime* . . . *memorable*, etc.: Thucydides opens his history with a similar statement about the Peloponnesian war. The second Punic war was memorable because it was a decisive conflict for supremacy between the Aryan and Semitic races, involving the whole subsequent history of European civilization. 4. *umquam*: he does not mean simply Roman wars, but all wars. *gesta sint*: this clause is put as a logical part of the statement contained in *me scripturum*, etc. A. 336, 342; H. 529, II.; G. 666. **Hannibale**: (-*bāl*, though the early Roman authors wrote -*bal*), the name means "Grace of Baal;" Baal was the supreme god of the Phoenicians. The second Punic was very properly called the Hannibalic war; after its unsuccessful issue, the aristocratic party at Carthage tried to devolve all responsibility for it upon Hannibal, who was, at all events, not to blame for the final failure. But Livy considers it the affair of the Punic state, though in Bk. xxxiii., ch. 45, he says, "*Belli per unum illum non magis gesti quam moti.*"

5. *gessere*: A. 336, *b*; H. 524, 2; G. 631, R. 2. 6. *neque validiores*: the following sentence contains four reasons for calling this war *maxime memorable*. *opibus*: all kinds of resources, sources of power. 7. *his ipsis*: it may be questioned whether the power of Carthage was not greater in the first war, when certainly the manifestations of it were greater. And Rome, of course, was subsequently more powerful, though perhaps never so vigorous.

8. *virium* . . . *roboris*: strength for offence and defence respectively, manifest outward power and inward vigor. *belli artes*: 'methods of warfare,' 'tactics;' yet the first war was mainly naval; the second, carried on almost entirely upon land. *inter sese*: seems to refer primarily to *conferebant*, like *inter*

*se . . . contulerunt*, above; but probably in the author's mind the phrase may have been associated also more or less distinctly with *ignotas*. 9. *expertas*: passive. 10. *propius periculum*: 'nearer the brink of destruction,' the reference being chiefly to the critical position of the Romans after the battle of Cannae; *prope* in all degrees is followed in Livy by the accusative. 11. *qui vicerunt*: an independent statement of fact not logically subordinate to *ut . . . fuerint*, and so not put into the subjunctive. 13. *ultra inferrent arma*: 'presumed to make war.' A. 341, *d*; H. 516, II.; G. 541. *Poenis*: sc. *indignantibus*. 14. *superbe avareque*: cf. note on *Sicilia*, etc., *infra*, l. 20. *crederent*: put into the subjunctive by a false analogy with *inferrent*, l. 13. *inperitatum*: one of the author's favorite frequentative forms.

15. *Fama est*: this is not a mere tradition, but a story attested by Polybius, Appian, Nepos, Valerius Maximus, and others. *an-norum*: A. 215, *b*; H. 396, *v*.; G. 364, *R*.; a genitive of quality is not usually attached directly to a proper name. 16. *blandientem*: 'coaxing,' wheedling, trying to induce by caresses, hence followed naturally by *ut duceretur*. *Hamilcari*: 'gift of Melcart;,' the great Hamilcar Barca, father of Hannibal and his valiant brothers, the "lion's brood." 17. *Africo bello*: the war of Carthage with her mutinous mercenaries and revolted subjects, at the close of the first war with Rome.

18. *altaribus*: generally used in plural with singular meaning. 19. *hostem*: in deed as well as in feeling. 20. *spiritus*: genitive. *virum*: Hamilcar. *Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*: 'the loss of Sicily and Sardinia;,' Hamilcar was unsubdued in western Sicily, when his countrymen, regarding the war as settled by their naval defeat off the Aegatian islands, made peace in 241 B. C., ceding all their possessions in Sicily. Afterwards, when Carthage made preparations to subdue Sardinia, which had revolted, Rome pretended to regard this action as a menace of war against herself, and obliged Carthage to purchase peace by giving up the island and paying an indemnity of twelve hundred talents, about \$1,500,000, (*stipendio etiam insuper inposito*). The indemnity exacted in 241 B. C. had, moreover, been increased by the Roman senate beyond the amount stipulated by the Roman commander in the preliminary treaty of peace. All this conduct explains *superbe avareque* in l. 14. 22. *inter*:



'during.' **motum**: the same as *Africo bello*, l. 17. **23. stipendio**: *stipendium* (*stips, pendere*).

**Page 75. CHAP. II. 1. curis**: refers to the last sentence of ch. i. **2. sub**: 'immediately after.' **quinque annos**: the whole war lasted according to Diodorus but four years and four months, according to Polybius three years and four months, and Hamilcar was not placed in command at the beginning of it. (241-237 B. C.) **3. novem annis**: he was killed in a battle with the Vettones in 228 B. C. A. 256, b; H. 379, i; G. 392, 2. **in Hispania**: there had been from remote antiquity Phoenician colonies in Spain, but no great conquests till Hamilcar's time; the country was valuable chiefly for its vast mineral wealth and its hardy population, which made excellent soldiers. **6. duce**: merely for variety, the form of expression is changed in the next line, *ductu* with the genitive.

**8. pueritia**: inaccurate; he was eighteen at the death of his father. **10. obtinuit**: 'held.' **flore . . . conciliatus**: 'at first, as they say, a favorite with Hamilcar because of his youthful beauty.' **12. profecto**: contrasted with *uti ferunt*; this is certain; that, mere report. **animi**: epexegetical to *aliam indolem*; 'a different character, that is, the character of his mind.' **13. factionis Barcinae**: named after its leader Hamilcar Barca; this was the popular, national party, favoring war with Rome, which gradually succeeded in driving its opponents from the management of the government and in gaining control of the state policy.

**15. principum**: the aristocracy and the rich, who desired peace at any price. **consilio . . . vi**: 'policy . . . force of arms.' **16. regulorum**: 'chieftains,' 'petty monarchs.' **17. principum**: 'leading men' in republican communities. **18. nihilo . . . tutior**: peace afforded him no greater security than war to Hamilcar. **23. praeberit**: a primary tense of the subjunctive, where strict sequence would require a secondary. **25. renovaverat**: had renewed the treaty already made in 241 B. C., but with the additional provisions here stated. This was in 225 B. C. **26. ut**: 'providing that.' **finis . . . imperii**: the Romans had no possessions outside of Italy, but Sicily and Sardinia, and the Carthaginians had not fully conquered Further Spain. **27. mediis**: Saguntum was

several days' march from the Ebro, on the Punic side. This statement about the Saguntines is not confirmed by Polybius and is not absolutely reliable.

CHAP. III. 29. **quin**: the predicate has been lost from the text; sc. *eum imperatorem crearet*, or some equivalent expression. 30. **praerogativa**: 'provisional' or 'preliminary choice;' in the Roman *comitia* the tribe or century first called on to vote was called *tribus* or *centuria praerogativa*. The adjective was then used substantively, and extended in meaning from the voting body to the vote itself. The vote of the first century was usually followed by a similar vote of the others. In regard to the case here in point, it seems to have been legally regular for the Carthaginian army to elect its general provisionally, subject to confirmation by the senate and people at home. **extemplo**: (*ex, temp(u)lo*; dimin. of *tempus*). 31. **praetorium**: the general's tent or the open space in front of it; as usual, Roman terms are applied to the affairs of a foreign people.

**Page 76. 1. favor**: 'applause.' 2 **vixdum puberem**: this is inconsistent with the rest of the story; cf. p. 77, l. 18; Hannibal was twenty-six when chosen commander; this expression would be applicable to a boy of fourteen. We are told that he was nine years old when his father went to Spain, and that Hamilcar commanded there nine years, and Hasdrubal eight. As is often the case, the author is following more than one account, and is constantly betrayed into inconsistency. 3. **accersierat**: i. e. *arcessierat* (*ad, cessere*, causative of *cedere*; cf. *arbitr* for *adbiter*); this is in plain contradiction with ch. i., and with the words put into Hannibal's mouth in Bk. xxx., ch. 37. **senatu**: the governing class at Carthage was an aristocracy of birth and wealth; there was a senate of nobles, presided over by the two Suffetes or "kings;" but the chief power was really exercised by the Council of one hundred and four Judges. **fuerat**: we have noticed the author's frequent use of this auxiliary for *erat*.

8. **admiratione**: 'surprise at.' **ancipitis**: 'self-contradictory.' 10. **fruentum**: construed as if transitive; originally the verb was so. **iusto iure**: the strength of the expression is increased by the pleonasm. **eum**: i. e. *florem*,

which stands in the relative clause, as usual ~~when~~ that precedes. A. 200, *b*, N.; H. 445, 9; G. 618. 11. *repeti*: the word means seeking in return, asking what one is entitled to. 12. *pro . . . rudimento*: 'by way of military training.' 13. *praetorum*: in a general sense, 'commanders.' An . . . *timemus*: in this rhetorical question is stated a second ground for the previously expressed opinion of the speaker. 14. *regni*: Hamilcar and his successors in Spain were virtually independent sovereigns. *speciem*: 'display.' 16. *istum iuvenem*: 'that youth of yours;' addressing the Barcine party.

CHAP. IV. 20. *optimus*: the aristocratic party always has the author's sympathy, and, besides, this party favored peace with Rome. 21. *maior pars*: this implies that the nation at large supported Hannibal's policy. 24. *Hamilcarem*: he was in the prime of manhood at his death. *iuvenem*: predicative, 'as a youth.' 27. *pater in se*: 'his likeness to his father.' 29. *diversissimas*: 'most opposite.' 30. *discerneret*: translate as if it were pluperfect. A. 311, *a*, R.; H. 485, N. 1; G. 252. 32. *ubi . . . esset*: A 322, 309, *b*; H. 518, 1; G 569, R. 2; Roby, Lat. Gr. 1716. *Ubi* = 'when-ever.' 33. *fortiter ac strenue*: 'with gallantry and energy.'

Page 77. 4. *patientia*: 'power of endurance.' 7. *id, quod . . . superesset*: 'whatever remained after the performance of his duties;' the subjunctive is of the same general character as *esset*, p. 76, l. 33. *gerendis rebus*: dative. 8. *ea*: i. e. *quies*. 9. *sagulo*: the ordinary soldier's cloak; diminutive of *sagum*. 10. *custodias stationesque*: the former are sentries; the latter, pickets or outposts. *Vestitus . . . arma . . .*: antithesis emphasized by asyndeton. 12. *idem . . . erat*: 'he was at once.' 14. *vir*: *vir* is emphatic for *is*, as *res* is for *id*. *vitia*: it is always to be remembered that Hannibal's history was written by his enemies, who were inclined to exaggerate the darker features of his character, if not to invent them. But the medium through which we view him fails to obscure the grand proportions of his figure, which towers above the greatest of his contemporaries. The charges here made against him are the commonplaces of national antipathy. The Romans — generations after his death —

could never think of their terrible foe without a thrill of rage and dread. In other passages Livy expresses admiration for Hannibal's great qualities. It must be admitted that Hannibal was sometimes cruel, but he was more humane than most of his countrymen: the fault was not a personal but a national characteristic; and the Romans were not tender-hearted.

**15. perfidia . . . Punica**: to those who read the history of Rome's dealings with Carthage, recorded by Roman, not by Punic writers, this proverbial phrase sounds like mockery. We are not told what the Carthaginians thought of *Romana fides*.

**16. nihil veri**: *nihil* and *nullus* are used in this passage to express negative qualities for which the Latin has no abstract substantives. Nägelsbach, Lat. Stil. 60, 61.

**17. religio**: 'conscience,' sense of obligation to, or dependence upon, the supernatural. **18. meruit**: 'served;' sc. *stipendia*.

CHAP. V. **21. Ceterum**: analogous to the French "*du reste*," is resumptive, marking the continuation of the interrupted narrative. **velut**: sc. *si*.

**22. provincia**: this word, used by analogy to Roman custom, means the sphere of duty specially assigned to a magistrate or general. **26. Quibus oppugnandis**: 'by an attack upon these.'

**movebantur**: indicative, rather than a periphrastic subjunctive form, to mark the inevitable certainty of the expected event; translate, 'would certainly be set in motion,' i. e. at any time he might attack Saguntum. **27. Olcādum**: on the upper Guadiana (*Anas*).

**prius**: in the summer of 221 B. C. **28. in parte magis quam in dicione**: on the Carthaginian side of the Ebro, but not yet conquered.

**30. iungendo**: without an object, is awkward. **31. Cartalam**: a town not otherwise known, though it is possibly the modern Adēa on a tributary of the Guadiana.

**33. stipendio**: 'a war contribution.'

**Page 78. 1. Victor**: nouns of agency are often used, and especially by Livy, as adjectives. **praeda**: i. e. *prae-henda*; cf. *ne-homo*, *nemo*, *prae-hibere*, *prae-bere*.

**2. Carthaginem Novam**: this means 'New Newtown;' now Cartagena; then the Punic capital of Spain, a large and splendid city with a fine harbor, and valuable silver mines in the vicinity.

**3. stipendioque praeterito**: 'the arrears of pay.' **4. animis in se**: 'devotion to himself.'

**5. vere**: 220 B. C. **Vao**

**caeos**: in northern Spain on the Douro (*Durius*). **promotum**: to correspond with the rest of the sentence, should be *promovit*. **Hermandica**: possibly the modern Salamanca. **6. Arbocala**: not known, perhaps the modern Albuella. **9. Carpetanos**: east of the *Vaccæi*, in the modern Castile and Estremadura. **10. procul Tago**: classical usage requires *ab*. **13. ab hostibus**: 'on the part of the enemy.' **14. traiecit**: from the north to the south bank. **ita**: restrictive, 'only so far' toward the river, or at a little distance sideways from the ford, or leaving an opening in the middle of the *vallum*. **20. invicta**: this participle contains, in disguised form, the apodosis of the condition *si dimicaretur*. **21. feroces**: 'brave.'

**22. id**: i. e. *id unum*, 'that the fact of the river being between (them and the enemy) alone delayed their victory.' **24. qua cuique proximum est**: explains *passim*: 'each man taking the nearest way.' **25. ex parte altera ripae = ex altera ripa**. **27. quippe ubi . . . posset, eques . . . gereret**. A. 320, *e*, N. I; H. 517, 3, 1); G. 636. **28. temere**: 'at random,' without special aim or effort. **32. in hostis**: i. e. Hannibal's men posted with the elephants on the south bank. **Postremi**: in translating put *cum*, l. 34, first. **33. ex varia trepidatione**: 'after their flight in different directions.' **34. priusquam . . . reciperent**: A. 327; H. 520; G. 579. **35. agmine quadrato**: 'with the army marching in fighting trim;' at first, doubtless, the phrase meant an army marching in the form of a square or parallelogram, so as to present a line of battle on every side.

**Page 79. 2. Et iam**, etc.: here, apparently, the campaign of 220 B. C. ends.

CHAP. VI. **4. ceterum**: here, as so often in Livy and Sallust, = *sed*; adversative. **5. certamina**: 'controversies' between Saguntum and its neighbors, in order to get a pretext for interference. **6. Turdetanis**: this was the name of the chief nation of Baetica, the southwest of Spain; the neighbors of the Saguntines had the same name, and may have been a branch of the larger nation; they were enslaved by the Romans in 214 B. C. **7. nec certamen . . . quaeri**: 'that not a contest for justice, but a pretext for violence was being

sought;’ this was in the winter of 220–19 B. C. **9. Consules:** a mistake, as the author acknowledges in ch. xv.; these were the consuls of 218 B. C.; those of 219 B. C. were M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus.

**11. introductis:** i. e. after the ambassadors had been listened to by the senate and had left the *curia*. **de re publica retulissent:** ‘had laid before the senate the question of the policy of the state;’ *referre ad senatum de aliqua re* is a stereotyped phrase for the action of the consuls, who had the right to convene, to preside over, and to consult the senate when occasion required. It was the consuls who brought forward the original questions for discussion, but the senators were not obliged in their speeches to confine themselves to these subjects, and were able to call for the opinion of the body upon other matters. Theoretically the senate’s resolutions were simply advice given to the magistrates, but in practice they had legal force.

**13. sociorum:** Livy does not tell when this relation with Saguntum was formed; Mommsen supposes it was in 226 B. C., just before the treaty made with Hasdrubal. **quibus si videretur = qui, si eis videretur.** **17. omnium spe celerius:** *comparatio compendaria*, ‘sooner than any one expected.’ A. 247, b; H. 417, I, N. 5; G. 399, R. I. **19. provincias:** cf. note on p. 77, l. 22. **20. discernentes:** ‘proposing to assign.’ **22. intendebant,** etc.: ‘were in favor of concentrating the whole war against Spain and Hannibal.’ **23. ex Hispania legatos:** i. e. the return of the envoys about to be sent. **26. Flaccus et . . . Tamphilus:** young men of no prominence. **27. si non absisteretur:** the apodosis is *atque inde Carthaginem, sc. irent*.

CHAP. VII. **30. Saguntum:** now Murviedro (*muri veteres*; cf. Orvieto, *urbs vetus*); ruins of the ancient city are still visible.

**Page 80. 1. mille:** the distance is now about three miles. **2. Oriundi** (fr. *orior*, like *secundus* fr. *sequor*): i. e. *Saguntini*. **Zacyntho:** now Zante, one of the Ionian Islands. *Saguntum* is merely an older transliteration of the same word into Latin; the early alphabet had no *z* and made no distinction between *c* and *g*, or between *θ* and *τ*; the Greek origin of the city is

well attested historically, especially by coins. **3. ab Ardea**, etc.: this part of the story is evidently intended to explain the friendly relations with Rome. It is hardly necessary, for Rome had similar relations with the Greek cities of Massilia and Emporiae. **4. maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus**: commerce or agriculture. **6. fidem socialem**: 'faithfulness to their allies;' they were fighting for themselves, not for their allies, against Hannibal, but this is the Roman point of view, which makes the conduct of the Romans all the more discreditable. They seemed to feel it so, for in 214 B. C. the senate ordered Saguntum to be restored to its old inhabitants; *vide* Bk. xxiv., ch. 42.

**8. Angulus**: probably a triangular bastion. **10. vergens**: 'jutting out.' **vineas**: 'mantlets,' heavy sheds about sixteen feet long, eight feet wide, and seven high, covered with planks, hurdles, and rawhides as a protection from missiles and fire. The besiegers rolled or carried them to the point where they were needed; *vide* Judson, *Caesar's Army*, pp. 91, sqq. **11. per quas = ut per eas**. **aries**: a long beam of wood suspended by the middle and swung endwise against a wall, or sometimes simply carried on the shoulders of the besiegers. Often it was provided with a metal head, sometimes shaped like a ram's head. **ut . . . ita**: 'though . . . yet.' **12. procul muro**: i. e. the ground, looked at from a distance, seemed level enough. **14. coeptis succedebat**: impersonal, 'the attempt was not successful.' **15. ut in suspecto loco**: 'as the point was one where attack was expected.' **ceterae . . . altitudinis**: 'height in other places.' **16. emunitus**: 'built up;' *ex* often has the force of *up*. **20. pro moenibus**: 'upon the battlements;' *pro* is not merely 'in front of,' but 'at the front of.' **tela**: nominative. **micare**: 'flashed.' **24. adversum femur**: 'in the front of his thigh,' the part turned toward the wall. A. 240, c; H. 378; G. 332. **25. tragula**: a heavy barbed spear, hurled by means of a strap attached to the shaft. **26. ut non multum**, etc.: 'so that the siege works and mantlets came near being abandoned.' The *quin* clause is the subject of *abesset*.

CHAP. VIII. **28. per paucos dies**: A. 256, a; H. 379, i; G. 337. **29. dum . . . curaretur**: *dum* means 'in order that in the meanwhile;' A. 328; H. 519, II., 2; G. 574. **30**

**operum . . . munitionum**: the former are offensive, the latter defensive. **32. partibus**: note the omission of the preposition with a local ablative. **vix accipientibus . . . opera**: 'scarcely admitting the construction of siege-works.'

**Page 81. 2. centum quinquaginta milia**: he crossed the Ebro the following year with 102,000 men. **3. ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda**: 'to meet all attacks and perform all duties.' **4. coepti**: Livy uses the active or passive of *coepti* indifferently with a passive infinitive. **5. muri**: i. e. the wall at different points. **6. una**: sc. *pars muri*. **7. tres deinceps turris**: 'three contiguous towers.' **quantumque . . . muri**: what military engineers call a 'curtain.' **9. qua . . . procursum est**: 'and yet here they rushed forward on both sides to battle, just as if the wall had been an equal protection to both,' i. e. the Saguntines acted as if they had broken down the defences of the Carthaginians. **12. per occasionem partis alterius**: 'when a favorable chance offered itself to either side.' **13. iustae**: 'regular,' 'formal.' **15. constiterant**: 'took their stand.' **Hinc . . . hinc**: 'on the one side . . . on the other.'

**16. cepisse . . . si . . . adnitatur**: corresponds to *cepi*, *si adnitar* of *oratio recta*, where the perfect apodosis, instead of a future, marks the certainty of the conclusion. **18. pedem referente**: *pedem referre* = to retreat, *pedem inferre* = to advance. **19. quo . . . eo**: 'the more . . . the more.' **20. confertim**: Wsb. says this adverb occurs but twice in Livy. **21. vano**: 'without doing execution.' **23. cetera tereti, etc.**: 'for the rest, round except at the end.' **24. sicut in pilo**: the phrase modifies *quadratum* only. **26. armis**: the defensive armor. **27. id maxime**: 'this circumstance in particular,' i. e. *quod . . . cogebat*, below. **etiam si**: 'even if . . . only.' **si haesisset . . . faciebat**: cf. note on *ubi . . . esset*, p. 76, l. 32. The supposition is a general one. **28. medium accensum**: 'lighted in the middle.' **29. conceptumque . . . ignem**: 'a fire kindled to greater intensity by its very motion.' **30. nudum**: predicative, 'without defence.'

CHAP. IX. **33. quia . . . resisterent**: the reason in the minds of the Saguntines. A. 341, *d*; H. 516, II.; G. 541. **Poenus**: the army, not the leader; it is characteristic of the author thus to use a singular for a collective or plural.



**Page 82.** 1. **pro victo esset**: 'was as good as vanquished.' 2. **in ruinas**: 'into the breach;' the fighting had been going on in the clear space inside the line of the wall. 3. **fusum fugatumque**: 'in total rout;' two similar verbs instead of one modified by an adverb. 5. **ab Roma**: this author regularly uses *ab* with the name of a city *unde*. 7. **effrenatarum gentium**: the wild, half-savage Spanish tribes, who might not respect the sacred character of envoys. 8. **in tanto discrimine rerum**: 'in so important a crisis.' **operae esse**, etc.: 'it was not worth his while,' or 'he had no time to listen to embassies.' *Operae* may be explained as genitive limiting *pretium* understood, or as predicative possessive genitive, or as dative of service. (Roby, Lat. Gr. 1283). **arma . . . rerum**: this line is one of those accidental hexameters, so carefully avoided and yet occasionally found in prose Latin. 10. **Litteras . . . nuntiosque**: 'messengers with letters.' 12. **suorum**: 'of their partisans.' **quid . . . gratificari**: 'to make any concession.'

CHAP. X. 15. **quoque**: here also, as well as in its mission to Hannibal. **Hanno**: the same as in ch. iii. 17. **egit**: 'pleaded.' 23. **supersit**: strict sequence would require *superesset*. **Iuvenem**: a sudden change to *oratio recta*. 24. **cupidine**: *cupido* is poetic for *cupiditas*. 25. **ex bellis bella**: 'war after war.' **serendo**: 'by instigating.' **succinctus armis legionibusque**: zeugma. 30. **per quos**: 'by whose aid.' 31. **priore bello**: the first Punic war, 264-241 B. C. **sunt ulți**: agrees with *Romani* rather than *legiones*; an instance of *constructio ad synesim*. 32. **fortunam . . . populi**: nations, like individuals, were conceived as watched over by tutelary genii.

**Page 83.** 1. **bonus**: ironical. 2. **ius gentium**: 'the law of nations,' which required audience to be given to the ambassadors of allies, and even of enemies. 4. **publica fraus**: by giving up Hannibal the state as such would avoid responsibility for his breach of treaty; it would be otherwise if his acts were confirmed by their refusal to surrender him. 7. **Aegatis insulas**: the scene of the naval victory of the Romans under Catulus, which brought the first war to a close. **Erycem**: Hamilcar had maintained himself through the last years of the

war at Mt. Eryx. **8. quae:** asyndeton; 'and in short all things which,' etc. **9. puer:** contemptuously referring to Hannibal. **10. Mars alter:** 'a second Mars.' **isti:** the men of the opposite party. **volunt:** 'maintain.'

**11. Tarento:** a Punic fleet appeared in the port of Tarentum in 272 B. C., but the Romans hastened to take possession of the city by land, it being surrendered to them by Milo, whom Pyrrhus had left in command. This was eight years before the first Punic War. Rome and Carthage had made a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against Pyrrhus in 279 B. C. There were, according to Polybius and Livy, three treaties earlier than this defining the mutual rights of the powers: viz., those of 509 B. C., 348 B. C., and 306 B. C.; but Mommsen denies the first. Polybius denies the existence of any clause in that of 279 B. C. excluding the Romans from Sicily and the Carthaginians from Italy. Philinus was probably Livy's authority for the statement that the Carthaginians violated this treaty by the action mentioned above,—a statement found in the epitome of the lost Bk. xiv. At any rate, this was not the cause of the first Punic war.

**13. di:** as avengers of bad faith. **homines:** accusative. **et, id de quo,** etc.: 'and as to that about which,' etc.; the sentence is anacoluthic, *id* having no predicate. **15. unde = a quo,** 'on the side of which.' **Carthagini . . . Carthaginis:** emphasized by abnormal position. **17. utinam . . . sim:** A. 267; H. 483, 2; G. 254. **21. in eo:** 'in his (Hannibal's) case.' **paternae inimicitias:** 'enmity with his father,' due especially to the fact that Hamilcar had been preferred by the army to Hanno, as their leader in the war with the mercenaries. **24. tamquam furiam facemque,** etc.: 'who in his mad passion kindles the torch of this war;' the alliteration is intentional. **25. dedendum:** sc. *esse*; this and the following coördinate infinitives depend on *censeo* understood. **27. ad nos . . . accidere . . . possit:** this phrase expresses distance more forcibly than *nos audire . . . possimus*. **29. quietae civitatis statum:** hypallage for *quietum civitatis statum*. **34. decerno:** 'I am in favor of,' 'I advise.'

**Page 84. CHAP. XI. 1. nemini . . . certare . . . esse:** this saves the trouble of mentioning the arguments used on the

other side. **2. adeo**: 'so true it is that;' the word qualifies the whole sentence. **3. Hannibalis erat**: 'was devoted to Hannibal;' the majority was so decided that discussion seemed superfluous. A. 214, c; H. 401; G. 365. **4. Flaccum Valerium**: note the inversion; this is very common when the praenomen is omitted. **5. ortum . . . esse**: 'had been begun.' **7. Saguntinos**: brachylogy for *societatem Saguntinorum*; the alliance with Saguntum was of recent date, and they were not mentioned in the treaty of 241 B. C., which was very unfavorable to Carthage. **vetustissimae**: the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, as Polybius says, was in 509 B. C.; Momm- sen casts some doubt upon this, but there certainly was one in 348 B. C. **10. militem . . . iis**: plural pronoun because *militem* is collective. **14. pro contione**: 'at a general assembly of the army.' **20. novum murum**: behind the old wall.

**22. primum aut potissimum**: alliteration. **24. satis scire poterant**: 'could feel quite sure.' **25. turris mobilis**: a wooden structure on wheels, propelled by men behind and within it. **27. catapultis**: gigantic bows for shooting arrows and bolts nearly horizontally. **ballistisque**: engines for hurling stones at a decided upward angle. **tabulata**: 'stories,' of which there were several in such towers, accommodating siege artillery of smaller size. For descriptions of siege engines, etc., *vide* Judson, Caesar's army, pp. 87, sqq. **28. occasionem ratus**: 'judging that a favorable opportunity was come.' **31. caementa (caedimenta)**, etc.: 'the quarry stones had not been hardened into a solid mass by the use of lime.' **32. genere**: 'after the fashion of;' primitive masonry was accomplished without mortar. **Itaque latius**: pulling down a portion of a wall so loosely built brought down further portions, right and left.

**Page 85. 1. ruebat**: sc. *murus*. **patentia ruinis**: 'the breach;' *patentia* is a neuter plural participle. **4. haberent**: the sequence is correct, for *circumdant* is historical present. **7. interiora tuendo**: 'by contracting their line of defence.' **8. in dies**: an exaggeration, of course, for we cannot suppose that every day a wall was demolished and another built further back. **10. Romani**: the Illyrian war was in 219 B. C., but it was not of such magnitude as to prevent the succor of Saguntum.

**11. adfectos animos recreavit**: 'revived their drooping spirits.'  
**12. profectio . . . in**: the verbal noun followed by the same preposition as its verb. **Oretanos**: south of the Carpetani (note on p. 78, l. 9), about the upper Guadalquivir (Baetis) and Guadiana (Anas) and the Sierra Morena (*iuga Oretana*). **13. dilectus**: the levy of troops was compulsory among the subjects of Carthage. **14. metum . . . praeuissent**: 'had given reason to fear.' **15. omiserunt mota arma**: 'laid down their arms again.'

CHAP. XII. **17. Maharbale**: a very enterprising officer, often mentioned subsequently as commander of the cavalry. **18. ita . . . agente**: 'pushed on the siege so vigorously.' **19. cives**: 'his own soldiers;' there were few *cives*, in the proper sense, in the Punic army. **23. ad ipsam arcem**: 'directly against the citadel.' **26. Temptata . . . spes**: 'slight as was the hope of peace, an attempt was made to secure it.' **28. aliquid moturum**: 'that he would accomplish something.' A. 238, b; H. 375; G. 331, R. 2. **29. postquam . . . movebant**: the imperfect is used with *postquam* about a hundred times by Livy, four times by Cicero, twice by Caesar; it shows the action of the temporal clause still continuing when that of the principal clause begins. **30. tristes**: 'harsh.' **ut ab irato victore**: 'as was to be expected of an angry conqueror.' **31. transfuga . . . factus**: 'turning from an intercessor into a deserter.' **32. moriturum**: 'would be put to death.' **33. redderent res Turdetanis**: this was necessary to justify his own action, for alleged injuries to the Turdetani had been the pretext for his attack on Saguntum.

**Page 86. 1. egressi urbe**: the position was strategically too important to leave in an enemy's hands. Hannibal wished to leave no hostile stronghold in his rear. For those times the terms offered were not very severe. **2. singulis vestimentis**: cf. p. 87, l. 5, *binis vestimentis*; the inconsistency may be the error of the author or of a copyist, or both expressions may mean one change of clothes besides what they had on. **3. abnuente = negante**. **4. vinci animos, etc.**: 'that courage too is conquered when other things are overcome.' **5. interpretem**: 'mediator.' **6. publice . . . hospes**: 'a guest-friend of the Saguntine state,' i. e. a citizen of a community which

had the relation of *hospitium* with Saguntum. **8. praetorem** : 'the commander-in-chief.'

CHAP. XIII. **16. orator Hannibalis** : he was not sent by Hannibal, and so was not a *legatus*. Whether Hannibal knew of his going is not perfectly clear from the context. If he did, he took an unfair advantage in the circumstances described in ch. xiv. **17. ille** : i. e. Alco. **22. alterius** : often used for *alius*. **23. vel ea fides sit** : 'let this very fact be a proof;' *ea* agrees with the predicate noun, instead of being neuter to correspond with its antecedent, the substantive clause '*quod . . . feci*.' A. 195, *d*; 329, 333; H. 445, 4; 540, IV.; G. 525. **24. restitistis . . . sperastis** : the perfects mark a state of things no longer existing. To express 'you have been (and still are) resisting . . . hoping,' the present would be used. **26. Postquam** : 'since;' very rare with present tense. **28. magis necessariam quam aequam** : 'unavoidable rather than favorable.' **29. ita** : 'on this condition.' **31. et non . . . habituri estis** : 'and shall not regard what is given up as loss, since all belongs to the conqueror, but whatever is left as a gift (from him).' **33. vobis** : A. 229; H. 385, II., 2; G. 344, 346.

**Page 87. 2. in quo . . . aedificetis** : A. 317; H. 497, I; G. 545, I. **5. servat . . . si . . . velitis** : Hannibal's own words would be *servabo* (or *servo* in the sense 'I promise to preserve'), *si . . . voletis*. **inviolata** : 'neither killed nor enslaved.' **binis** : cf. note on p. 86, l. 2. **6. ab Sagunto** : as usual in Livy, *ab* with name of town *unde*. **7. quamquam sunt** : A. 313, *e*; H. 515, I.; G. 607. **8. suadet** : 'bids you to accept.' **10. vel haec** : 'even these.' **11. corpora** : 'selves.' **12. belli iure** : construe with *rapi trahique*. **sinatis** : as if corresponding to *patiamini* (*patienda*, l. 10); but the subjunctive is required by *potius quam*. Roby, Lat. Gr. 1676; A. 332, *b*; H. 503, II., 3; G. 647, R. 4.

CHAP. XIV. **13. Ad haec audienda** : construe with *circumfusa*. **14. concilium** : subject of *permixtum esset*. **15. primores** : the aristocracy, specially friendly to Rome, had most to fear from the enemy. **18. conicientes** : here we are reminded that the Latin verb has no perfect active participle. **21. cohors . . . dedisset** : begin the sentence with *cum*; the

Roman cohort, after the reorganization of the army by Marius, consisted of three maniples of two centuries each, and ten cohorts formed a legion. Here the word is simply used in a general sense, 'a body' of soldiers.

**22. nudatam stationibus**: this state of affairs appears not to have been anticipated, and implies that Hannibal was not aware of the negotiations of Alorcius. Livy would be prompt to notice bad faith on Hannibal's part.

**26. puberes**: 'fighting men;' the women and children would be sold as slaves.

**crudele**: sc. *fuit*; the Romans ordinarily did the same in storming towns, so the charge of cruelty is hardly fair.

**28. cui . . . parci**: A. 227, 230; H. 385, II., 301, I; G. 345, R. 3. Saguntum was not destroyed; a Punic garrison was placed in the town and the Spanish hostages were confined in the citadel (cf. p. 165, ll. 24, sqq.); nor were all the inhabitants killed or sold into slavery.

**Page 88. CHAP. XV. 2. de industria**: 'purposely,' in order to make it worthless to the captors. **3. in caedibus . . . fecerat**: this is mentioned, because those who were killed might have been sold as slaves. **4. militum praeda**: i. e. slaves whom the soldiers were allowed to sell for their own benefit. **5. redactum**: 'realized.' **6. supellectilem**: probably from *super lectus*, 'laid on the surface,' not fixtures, but 'movables.' **vestemque**: textile fabrics in general, not merely clothing, but carpets, tapestry, etc.; sending plunder to Carthage was politic, encouraging to his own party and a bait to the opposition, for, by accepting it, the government became committed to his line of action.

The description of this siege, masterly in point of rhetoric, divided into three parts, separated from each other by diplomatic episodes, has been aptly compared to a five act tragedy.

**8. quam**: *post* is often omitted in such collocations. **captum Saguntum**: this was in the autumn of 219 B. C.

**11. profectus sit**: in May 218 B. C. **12. Cornelius . . . Sempronius**: as previously stated these were the consuls of

218 B. C.; it was their predecessors of 219 B. C., L. Aemilius Paulus and M. Livius Salinator, who received this embassy.

**15. Ticinum . . . Trebiam**: tributaries of the Po, in Cisalpine Gaul. **16. ambo**: not quite correct, as Scipio had been wounded and did not take part in the fight.

**17. principio**

**anni**: the author seems to forget that at this time consuls took office on March 15th, not, as later, on January 1st. **19. excessisse . . . non potest**: 'cannot have been so late as.' **20. pugna ad Trebiam**: sc. *commissa*, or the like; Livy in such phrases regularly omits the participle which earlier writers would express. **21. Arimini**: in Umbria, on the Adriatic; the circumstances of this extraordinary proceeding of Flaminus are explained in the notes on ch. lxiii., *infra*. **22. creatus**: declared elected by the magistrate presiding at the *comitia centuriata*. No magistrate of lower rank could hold a consular election; if no consul was available, a dictator or interrex had to be appointed for the purpose. The consuls at this time were elected ordinarily in December. Polybius' chronology of the events of this book is perfectly clear and consistent, and by following it Livy would have avoided all difficulties such as he here confesses.

CHAP. XVI. **25. Sub idem fere tempus**: it is hard to see how these envovs spent so long a time in their expedition. Wsb. suggests that this remark may have been taken from an authority who made the siege much shorter. **29. non lati auxilii**: 'for not having rendered assistance.' **30. de summa rerum**: 'for the life of the nation;' the impending contest was for the very existence of Rome.

**Page 89. 2. trepidarent magis quam consulerent**: 'were too much disturbed for calm deliberation.' **4. rem Romanam = Romam.** **desidem**: a word not found before Livy, Wsb. The statement is much exaggerated. **5. Sardos . . . Illyrios**: an enumeration of the wars of the interval since the end of first Punic war in 241 B.C. There had been also one with the Ligurians, not mentioned here. Sardinia and Corsica, so far as possessed by Carthage, had been seized by the Romans, as previously stated, but it took several years to subdue the inhabitants. The first Illyrian war was in 229-228 B.C., the second 219 B.C. A severe contest with the Gauls, 225-222 B.C., resulted in the subjugation of the Boii and Insubres.

**7. tumultuatum**: *tumultus* expresses the disorderly and desultory hostile outbreaks of barbarians, as distinguished from *bellum*, formal, civilized warfare; the word has a shade of

contempt, yet the last Gallic war had been a very serious one. **belligeratum**: archaic, not elsewhere used by Livy. Wölfflin. **8. trium et viginti annorum**: the whole interval between the first and second Punic wars; but Hamilcar did not go to Spain till 236 B. C. **13. Gallicas gentes**: the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul. **cum orbe terrarum**: 'against the world.' **14. in Italia**: it does not appear, in the light of the following context, that the Romans had as clear a notion of Hannibal's plans as this statement seems to imply. Polybius expressly tells us that their purpose was to fight in Spain.

CHAP. XVII. **15. antea**: before the news of the fall of Saguntum reached Rome. The statement of the election of the consuls and their choice of provinces stood in Bk. xx., no longer extant. **provinciae**: the 'provinces' or departments of duty were settled by the senate, and one assigned to each consul by agreement or by lot, as in this case. **16. Hispania**: Hannibal was to be kept busy there. **17. Africa** was to be invaded from the Roman province of Sicily. **cum Sicilia**: p. 123, l. 26, and note. **18. socium**: genitive plural. **ipsis**: i. e. *consulibus*; generally it was the senate which determined the number of troops to be levied. **19. Quattuor et viginti**, etc.: i. e. six legions. **Romanorum . . . sociorum**: the contingents of allies were usually somewhat larger than those of citizens; the cavalry was always more numerous. **22. quinqueremes**: here an adjective; plenty of ships were available, owing to the late war with the Illyrians.

**23. celoces**: masculine in Livy; small swift vessels, 'cutters' (probably fr. *celer*, *cello*). **deducti**: 'put into the water;' they were kept on land when not in use. **Latum . . . ad populum**: 'the question was put to the people (in *comitia centuriata*, as this was a question of peace or war) whether' etc.; the presiding magistrate said: *Velitis iubeatisne populo Carthaginensi bellum indici, ita vos, Quirites, rogo*: vide Lange, i. 563.

**25. supplicatio**: a special observance, a litany, wherein the citizens of all ranks and ages, going round in procession, offered prayers at the different temples. The same name was given to solemn thanksgiving after a victory. **26. quod bellum**: in archaic style, the antecedent attracted into the relative clause, though it follows the principal one. **28.**



**ea**: i. e. *legiones*, but agreeing with the predicate *milia*. A. 195, *d*; H. 445, 4; G. 202, R. 5. **30. mille**: an indeclinable adjective; *milia*, a substantive. **naves longae**: 'galleys,' ships of war, propelled mainly by rowers; longer and narrower than merchantmen, which depended on their sails for motive power. Here the quinqueremes, mentioned above, are meant. **33. ita . . . si**: 'only if.' **transmissurus**: 'with orders to cross.'

**Page 90. 2. Manlius (Vulso)**: the *praetor peregrinus*: his forces would be a reserve for Scipio in case of need. **3. mittebatur**: 'was about to go.' **5. ea parte**, etc.: 'in that kind of warfare,' i. e. naval. **7. suo iusto equitatu**: 'their regular proportion of cavalry.' **10. Gallia**: the country along the Po, recently conquered, not organized as a province till 191 B. C. **11. eodem versa**: 'intended for the same purpose;' *eodem* is explained by *in Punicum bellum*; *versa*, neuter, agreeing with the various accusatives that precede, or specially with *milia*. Luterbacher makes *versa* agree with *provincia*, 'because it lay in the same direction (as Scipio's province).' The other explanation is preferable. **habuit**: 'received,' 'contained.'

CHAP. XVIII. **12. iusta**: 'in due form;' to the Roman mind it was essential to begin the war in formally correct fashion according to the feal law, and this, notwithstanding that war was already determined upon, and, indeed, virtually begun. **13. maiores natu**: the former ambassadors, only two in number, were comparatively young men; now five men of influence are sent. **Q. Fabium**: the famous dictator of 217 B. C., surnamed Cunctator, the 'Shield of Rome.' **M. Livium L. Aemilium**: probably the consuls of 219 B. C. **14. C. Licinium**: a man of this name had been consul in 236 B. C. **Q. Baebium**: if, as is likely, this is one of the members of the first embassy, he can hardly be classed with the *maiores natu*. **15. ad percunctandos . . . ut indicerent**: note the different ways of expressing purpose. **17. faterentur ac defenderent**: 'should confess, and, with justification of the action, declare.' **19. senatus**: 'an audience by the senate.' **22. Praeceptis**: 'over hasty,' assuming from the start that their opponents were in the wrong. *Inquit* is frequently wanting in Livy at the beginning of a direct quotation. **24. deposcebatis**: i. e. as the guilty

party, in order to punish him. **25. adhuc**: 'so far,' 'as yet.' **27. ut a confessis**: a Greek construction, *ὡς* with participle; the meaning is active, the verb being deponent. **29. censeam**: ironically polite. A. 311, *b*; H. 486, 1.; G. 250. **30. nostra**: emphatic. **31. animadversio in**: 'punishment of.' **quid . . . fecerit**: connect with *quaestio*, not with *animadversio*. **suo . . . arbitrio**: 'upon his own responsibility.'

**Page 91. 2. a C. Lutatio**: after the battle of the Aegatian Islands, 241 B. C. **5. At enim . . . excipiuntur**: the words of a supposed objector; *at enim* is elliptical, — 'But (some one will say, that makes no difference) for the Saguntines are protected by a special clause in that treaty,' etc. **10. aliud . . . foedus**: the second treaty, also negotiated by C. Lutatius, did not differ radically from the first, but its terms were a little more severe. **publico consilio**: 'with the public sanction,' the approval of senate and people. **12. ne . . . quidem**: 'certainly . . . not.' **15. diu parturit**: 'has long been (and still is) in travail with;' *parturire* is the desiderative of *parere*. A. 167, *e*; H. 338. **16. Romanus**: Fabius, chief of the embassy. **sinu . . . facto**: holding up a corner of his *toga* as if he were carrying something in it; *sinu effuso*, l. 19, letting it fall again as if to drop out its contents. **18. Sub**: 'immediately after.' **ferociter**: 'defiantly.' **19. iterum**: 'in reply.'

CHAP. XIX. **22. directa percunctatio**: 'straightforward demand for an explanation.' **23. ex**: 'in accordance with,' 'befitting.' **24. cum ante, tum maxime**, etc.: 'now especially since.' **25. excisa**: agrees with *urbe*, *per synesim*, or else *Sagunto* is the ablative of the late and poetical form *Saguntus*, which is feminine. **26. quid**: 'in what respect.' **27. quod mutatum est**: Lutatius' treaty was altered at once by the Roman senate, Hasdrubal's had been tacitly confirmed by the practice of years. **28. diserte**: 'expressly.' **32. etsi priore foedere staretur**: 'even if they should base their argument on the former treaty,' 'abide by the former treaty,' i. e. that of Lutatius as modified by the senate.

**Page 92. 1. sociis**: the Saguntines were included under this term, if no distinction was made between then existing

and after-acquired allies. **4. censeret** : 'would have thought ;' potential subjunctive ; *censeat* would mean 'would think (now).' This imperfect is not the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact, but of a possible condition stated in past time. A. 311, a ; H. 485, N. 1 ; G. 252. **5. ob nulla . . . recipi** : 'that no one, for any services whatsoever, should be received into friendly relations.' **6. fidem** : 'protection,' for which the honor of the state is pledged. For the various meanings of *fides*, vide Nägelsbach, Lat. Stil. 165-7. (*si*) **Tantum** (*cavere-tur*) **ne**, etc. : 'if only it was provided that . . . not ;' this clause, so completed, may be regarded as the protasis for which the thought in *censeret*, etc., is the apodosis. **9. sicut . . . imperatum erat** : this was not mentioned previously. **12. Bargasios** : a tribe near the Pyrenees and the city of Ilerda. **13. quia taedebat** : construe with *erexerunt* not with *excepti* ; for the Bargasii, being north of the Ebro, were not subject to the Carthaginians. **14. novae fortunae** : equivalent to the usual *novarum rerum*. **15. Volcianos** : probably near neighbors of the Bargasii. **18. respondit** : i. e. to the solicitations of the envoys. **verecundia** : sarcastic, 'a modest request.' **26. verba tulere** : 'got answers.'

CHAP. XX. **29. Ibi iis** : this reading, the conjecture of Heraeus, while probably not correct, is simple and intelligible, and I have adopted it rather than that of Wsb., which is confessedly unsatisfactory. **30. gentis** : 'the (Celtic) race ;' we may so understand it, though probably the word referred to the name of a particular tribe, lost from the text. The custom characterized the Gauls generally. Caes. B. G. v. 56. **venerunt** : the perfect confines the statement to the instance in question. In early times the Romans had attended the *comitia centuriata* in full armor. **31. verbis** : used with *extollentes* to show that its meaning is metaphorical.

**Page 93. 1. inferenti** = *si inferret* ; this implies that the invasion of Italy was expected. **2. tantus . . . risus** : 'such shouts of laughter.' **4. stolidi** : 'stupid,' 'absurd.' **censere** : 'to think it right,' 'to expect.' **5. transmittant** : we should expect the imperfect ; the same is true of **sumant**, l. 10. **11. pelli** : to make room for the colonists of Placentia and Cremona, founded 219 B. C. **15. Massiliam** : (now

Marseilles) a Greek city, a colony of the Phocaeans founded about 600 B.C., which early made alliance with Rome, and which had sent money to Rome 390 B.C. to assist in paying the ransom demanded by the Gauls. **16. praeoccupatos**

. . . **ante**: a characteristic pleonasm.

**19. subinde**: 'occasionally,' 'now and then.'

**20. Ita**: 'with such (so small) results.'

**22. haud ita multo**: 'not so very long.'

**consules in provincias profecti erant**: it is not probable that the consuls started before the return of the embassy.

**24. satis constante fama**: 'while reports pretty well agreed,' etc.

CHAP. XXI. The narrative is resumed from the point where it was interrupted by the digression beginning in ch. xv.

**27. hiberna**: the winter of 219-18 B.C.

**28. forent** = *essent*; the two are quite synonymous in Livy, but *forem*, as an equivalent for *essem*, is avoided by Cicero and Caesar.

**29. causam**: war had been declared, upon the refusal of his countrymen to surrender him.

**30. ultra differendum**: the siege of Saguntum had already delayed him too long.

**31. vos . . . et ipsos**, 'you as well as I.' **socii**: really the Spanish subjects of Carthage.

**32. pacatis . . . populis**: causal ablative absolute. **omnibus**: a rhetorical exaggeration.

**Page 94. 4. ex aliis gentibus**: Hannibal's real design does not appear to have been known to his troops.

**5. longinqua**: 'distant,' not 'long.' **7. invisere**: also **visendi**, l. 10; A. 167, *e*, N.

**8. Primo**: A. 193; H. 440, N. 1. **vere**: noun, not adverb. **dis bene iuvantibus**: so we say "by the 'good help' of God."

**11. ultro**: 'voluntarily,' without their requesting it. **desiderantibus . . . providentibus**:

dative agreeing with *omnibus*.

**12. desiderium**: ordinarily 'regret,' 'home-sickness,' here rather the absence that causes such feeling. **Per totum tempus hiemis**: adjectival phrase, attributive to *quies*.

**13. labores . . . exhauriendos**: 'toils already endured and those in store for them.'

**15. Vere primo**: the author is fond of reversing the usual order in such phrases.

**18. Gadis**: (now Cadiz) outside the strait of Gibraltar, a very ancient Tyrian colony, celebrated for the worship of Melkart, whom the Romans identified with Hercules, as they did Baal with Jupiter, etc.

**19. evenissent**: protasis of a future

perfect condition of which the apodosis is a future infinitive implied in *obligat votis*; 'Hannibal bound himself by vows (to perform certain sacrifices) in case his further undertakings should result successfully.' **Inde partiens curas**, etc.: it is probable that Hannibal, as Polybius says, made these arrangements in the previous winter at New Carthage, rather than in the spring at Cadiz. **20. inferendum atque arcendum bellum**: 'offensive and defensive warfare.'

**21. Gallias**: plural because the Romans made several provinces of Gaul; so people used to say 'the Jerseys' and 'the Brazils.' **22. ab Sicilia**: Lilybaeum, at the west of the island was only about ninety miles from the African coast. **23. Pro eo**: i. e. *praesidio*: in the place of the troops sent to garrison Africa. **27. mutuis pigneribus**: the families and property of the absent soldiers. **stipendia**: first 'pay,' then 'service' by which it was earned. **28. caetratos**: 'targeteers,' men armed with the *caetra*, a small shield (nearly = *pelta*). **29. Baliares**: according to the ancients, the name of the islands was derived from *βάλλειν*, owing to the skill of the people in using the sling. **32. conquisitoribus**: 'recruiting officers.' **33. in civitates**: as appears from Polybius, cities of the Metagonians in Africa. The whole passage, from p. 94, l. 17, to p. 95, l. 18, seems to be an imperfect transcript of a passage in the third book of Polybius, who says that he copied the figures from the tablet of brass which Hannibal erected at Lacinium.

**Page 95. CHAP. XXII. 2. circumitam**: 'canvassed.' **4. viro**: it is not usual to join an adjective directly to a proper name, therefore a common noun is put in apposition to the proper. **provinciam**: predicate accusative. **destinat**: 'assigns.' **6. Liguribus**: from the region between the mountains and the gulf of Genoa. Men of this nation, according to Polybius and Herodotus, were found in the Punic service in early times. They were poor, warlike, and hostile to Rome. **8. Libyphoenices**: descendants of marriages between the native Africans (Berbers) and the Phoenician settlers along the coast. They seem to have enjoyed some of the rights of Carthaginian citizens, and to have been upon a better

footing than the rest of the subjects. Their relation to Carthage was much like that of the Latins to Rome. Mommsen regards the name not as ethnical but as entirely political. Mommsen (*Am. ed.*), ii. 17. **9. quadringenti quinquaginta**: three squadrons. **Numidae**: from the country roughly corresponding to the modern Algeria; they furnished superb light cavalry. **Mauri**: the people of the modern Morocco and Fez. **10. ad**: adverb, not preposition. **Ilergētum**: living in the northeast of Spain, between the Ebro and the Segre, near the Pyrenees, and not subjects of Carthage.

**13. qua parte belli vicerant**: the Romans had been signally successful in naval battles in the first war. **16. aptae** = *aptatae*. **instructaeque remigio**: 'provided with rowers;' *remigium*, lit. = oarage, the abstract for the concrete plural. **17. triginta et duae**: 'only thirty-two.' **19. Carthaginem**: sc. *Novam*. **exercitus**: genitive, limiting *hiberna*. **20. Onusam**: a conjectural reading; the place is not certainly identified; possibly it is the modern Valencia. **21. ora**: ablative of the way by which, instead of *per oram*. **Ibi**: at the Ebro; construe with *visum*. **in quiete** = *in somnis*; a slightly different version of this story is given by Cicero, (*De Div.* i. 49). **24. sequeretur**: A. 339; H. 523, III.; G. 655. **26. cura ingenii humani**: 'by reason of the curiosity of human nature.' **cum . . . agitare animo**: 'when he wondered.' **28. oculis**: dative with *temperare*. **30. ferri**: 'moving along.' **31. moles**: 'monster.' **quidve prodigii esset**: 'and what was its significance (as a portent).'

**Page 96. CHAP. XXIII. 4. Hoc visu laetus**: this looks as if Hannibal had more regard for the higher powers than the author allows him in ch. iv. **Hiberum copias traiecit**: A. 239, 2, *b*; H. 376; G. 330, R. I. **5. praemissis**: sc. *nuntiis*, or a similar word; it would have been strange if Hannibal had not before this had negotiations with the Gauls, and made some survey of his route. Polybius, iii. 34, says that he had done so. **7. Nonaginta**, etc.: these are Polybius' figures. **9. Ausetanos**: a people of upper Catalonia. **Lacetaniam**: at the southern base of the Pyrenees, east of the Vascones. **10. oraeque**: the possession of the part of the conquered country next the sea was all that was necessary

for the protection of the passes and the line of communication between the countries. **11. Hannonem**: not his political opponent; the name was very common. **14. Pyrenaeum saltum**: the most eastern pass of the Pyrenees, over which afterward a Roman road was built. **15. barbaros**: in the Punic army. **16. iter averterunt**: 'deserted.' **19. anceps**: 'dangerous,' 'of doubtful policy.'

CHAP. XXIV. **23. sollicitaret**: 'should unsettle,' 'render uneasy.' **24. reliquis copiis**: according to Polybius, 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse; ch. xxiii. accounts for 21,000. This leaves 22,000 as the loss in the fighting between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. **25. Iliberri**: accusative; here indeclinable; now Elne. **28. Ruscinonem**: now La Tour de Rousillon near Perpignan. **29. aliquot populi**: appositive to *Galli* l. 25, but restrictive in sense. **30. moram magis quam bellum metuens**: because he must cross the Alps before winter. Doubtless the fighting in Spain had already delayed him longer than he had anticipated.

**Page 97. 2. vel . . . vel**: emphasizing the freedom of choice left to the Gauls. **6. Hospitem . . . non hostem**: the author's favorite paronomasia; cf. p. 16, ll. 30, 31, and p. 71, l. 9. **7. si . . . liceat**: 'unless the Gauls should oblige him to do so.' **8. haec**: sc. *egit*; cf. p. 115, l. 27. **10. cum bona pace**: 'without molestation;' a stereotyped phrase. **12. transmiserunt**: 'allowed . . . to pass.'

CHAP. XXV. **13. In Italiam**: construe with *perlatum erat*; standing at the head of the sentence, the phrase marks the transition to another part of the field of action. **16. Boi**: no formal statement of previous negotiations with these tribes is made, but they are taken for granted in ch. xxix. and ch. lii. The Boii were conquered by the Romans in 224 B. C. and the Insubres in 222 B. C., as was related in Bk. xx. These two nations, respectively south and north of the Po, were the most powerful in Cisalpine Gaul. **defecerunt**: the perfect indicative is used with *cum* to express simultaneity; there is really an inversion of the principal and temporal clauses in this case. **ob veteres . . . iras**: they had been engaged in war with the Romans in 358 and in 283 B. C. **17. circa Padum**: Placentia (now Piacenza) is on the south, and Cremona on the north

bank. **18. colonias**: the outlying bulwarks of Rome's power were her colonies, established as permanent garrisons among hostile races; to each of these two places 6,000 men were sent. **22. triumviri**: three commissioners sent to superintend the work of the *agrimensores*. **ad agrum . . . adsignandum**: 'to distribute land' (to the colonists). **23. diffusi Placentiae moenibus**: the colony was not attacked, nor was it abandoned by the inhabitants. **Mutinam**: seventy miles southeast of Placentia, afterward a Roman colony, and a fortified town on the Aemilian Way, now Modēna. **30. ad . . . artes rudis**: this adjective is usually construed with the genitive. **32. intactis**: 'without attacking them.'

**Page 98. 2. legati**: apparently the *triumviri* are meant; so Polybius understands the case. **4. obsides**: given when they submitted to Rome in 224 B. C. **5. dimissuros**: sc. *se*, a characteristic omission. **7. L. Manlius**: cf. note on p. 90. **1. 2. effusum**: 'in loose order.' **ad Mutinam**: 'toward Mutina;' he did not reach it. **8. plerisque incultis**: 'for the most part untilled.' **9. inexplorato**: 'without reconnoitering;' ablatives absolute consisting of participles alone are common in Livy and in later prose. **20. Tannetum, vicum propincum Pado**: in fact it was between Parma and Mutina, and a long way from the Po. **21. contendere**: perfect indicative. **22. ad tempus**: sc. *facto*, 'temporary.' **commeatibusque fluminis**: 'supplies brought along the river;' the author was probably thinking of the Po. **Brixianorum**: Brixia (Brescia) was the capital of the Cenomani, the only Gallic tribe friendly to Rome.

CHAP. XXVI. **27. acceperunt**: 'learned,' 'received tidings.' **C. Atilium (Serranum)**: if, as is probable, this man was *praetor urbanus*, it was unusual that he should take a military command. **28. dilectu novo**: Scipio had just been raising troops to go to Spain, part of whom were transferred to Manlius.

**Page 99. 2. profectus**: the departure of the consuls is mentioned at the end of ch. xx. as preceding the return of the envoys from Carthage and Spain, but it is probable that Scipio started in August. **4. Salluvium**: the most powerful of the Ligurian tribes, living between the maritime Alps and the



Rhone. **5. proximum**: nearest to Italy. **pluribus**: modal ablative with *decurrit*. **10. iactatione maritima**: 'seasickness.' **11. ducibus**: 'guides.' **auxiliaribus**: mercenaries in the service of Massilia. **12. visendosque . . . hostes**: 'to reconnoitre the enemy.' **13. ceteris**: other Gauls besides the Volcae. Hannibal had come viâ Ruscino, Narbo, and Nemausus (Nîmes) to the Rhone. He crossed at a point about equally distant from the sea and the mouth of the Isère, north of the mouth of the Druentia (Durance) near Arausio (Orange), perhaps at Roquemaure. **Volcarum**: the Volcae, in several tribes, extended from the Pyrenees to the Rhone.

**14. validae**: 'numerous.' **Colunt**: intransitive. **15. citiore agro**: on the west bank, nearest the Carthaginians as they approached. **17. suis**: neuter, 'their possessions.' **18. obtinebant**, etc.: 'were holding possession of the further bank,' when Hannibal reached the river. **19. ipsorum**: partitive genitive; 'of the Volcae themselves.' **quos sedes suae tenuerant**: 'who had been unwilling to quit their homes' (on the west bank). **22. tanta hominum urgente turba**: 'from the burden of so great a host of men.' **23. vis**: 'force,' i. e. 'number.' **navium**: large boats. **24. lintrium**: light skiffs. **temere**: 'carelessly.' **vicinalem**: a word not found before Livy. Wsb. **27. materiae**: 'timber' for building; *lignum* is fire-wood. **alveos informes**: 'rude dug-outs.'

CHAP. XXVII. **31. ex adverso**: in front. **equites virique**: 'with horse and foot,' appositive to *hostes*. **32. Bomilcaris**: son of one of the Suffetes or 'kings' of Carthage. **33. vigilia prima noctis**: *noctis* is pleonastic; for the day was divided into hours, and the night from sunset to sunrise into four equal watches.

**Page 100.** **1. adverso flumine**: ablative absolute; 'up stream.' **ire iter**: A. 238; H. 371, II.; G. 331. **4. Ad id**: 'for this purpose,' to conduct them to a place where they could cross. **6. insulae**: above the mouth of the Ardèche. **latiore . . . ostendere**: 'afforded a crossing where the channel, being broader at the point of division, was less deep.' **dividebatur**: indicative, expressing a fact independently of the connection. **10. mole**: 'trouble.' **utres**: 'leathern bags' that served as buoys when inflated. **caetris superpositis incubantes**:

'leaning on their shields, which were rested on the buoys.' **11. alius exercitus**: 'the rest of the army' (Hanno's detachment). **12. ratibus iunctis**: this does not mean rafts joined together to make a bridge, but rafts formed by joining logs together. **14. intento duce**: concessive ablative absolute, 'eager as the leader was.' **15. edito**: construe with *loco*. **17. ne tempori deesset**: 'not to miss the opportunity.' **19. fere**: 'in general.' **22. praebebat**: the subject is *Hannibal*. **pars magna nantes**: an example, often cited, of *constructio ad synesim*; *pars magna* = *equi*, with which *nantes* agrees. **24. usui**: 'ready for use.' A. 233; H. 390, N. 2; G. 350.

CHAP. XXVIII. **26. ululatibus**: an onomatopoeical word, commonly applied to barbarians. **30. et qui . . . et qui**: the former referring to *nautarum* and *militum*, the latter to *militum* only, i. e. such of the army as could not be taken across at the first trip, and so remained cheering on the further bank. **32. paventes**: accusative.

Page 101. **1. adortus**: transitive. **2. ipse**: Hanno, opposed to *clamor*. **5. vim facere**: 'to resist.' **pellebantur**: imperfect because the process occupied some time. **7. per otium**: 'at his leisure.' **8. tumultus**: 'noisy demonstrations.' **10. variat**: intransitive. **memoria**: 'record.' **12. refugientem**: i. e. *rectorem*. **nantem**: agrees with *ferocissimum*, unless it be a gloss upon *refugientem*. **13. ut quemque . . . rapiente**: 'and the very force of the current swept each toward the other bank, whenever, though fearing the deep water, he got beyond his depth' (lit. the bottom failed him). It is not clear how the current carried them *across*. **14. destitueret**: iterative subjunctive.

**16. id**: i. e. *ratibus traicere*. **ut . . . ita**: 'not only . . . but also.' **foret** = *esset*; the mood may be explained by expanding *ante rem* into *si res nondum esset facta*. **17. ad fidem pronius**: 'easier to believe,' 'more probable.' **19. secunda aqua**: 'down stream.' **20. pluribus** = *compluribus*: 'several.' **ripae**: explained as genitive with *parte* or dative with *religatam*. **25. tamquam viam**: 'as if along a road' (on land). **27. ab . . . navibus**: as if they were voluntary agents, leading us to think rather of the persons who propelled

them. **28. pertrahitur**: the subject is *altera ratis*. **29. Nihil . . . trepidabant**: 'gave no signs of alarm.' **30. donec . . . agerentur**: subjunctive because the statement is general, not referring to any one trip, but to all. But *vide* Roby's Lat. Gr. 1670, upon this sentence. **31. ab ceteris**: only one stationary raft is mentioned, so this is probably neuter, 'from whatever held it fast.' **34. circumspectantibus aquam**: 'seeing the water all around them.' **35. saevientes**: 'maddened' by fear. **pondere ipso**: it was a common belief among the ancients that elephants could not swim. Polybius tells how they waded over with the tips of their trunks held above water. So the word *nantem* above, l. 13, is to be regarded with suspicion. **36. quaerendis pedetemptim vadis**: 'by feeling for the bottom, one step at a time.'

**Page 102. CHAP. XXIX. 2. castra Romana**: cf. p. 99, l. 6. **4. alae**: 'squadrons;' regularly used to designate a body of cavalry of the allies. **6. atrocius quam pro numero**: a Greek construction; 'than was to be expected from the number.' **7. caedes**: 'loss of life.' **10. pars Gallorum**: 'part, consisting of Gauls.' **12. summae rerum prosperum eventum**: 'ultimate success.' **13. incruentam ancipitisque certaminis**: *-que* connects the adjective with the characteristic genitive, both modifying *victoriam*. **16. nec Scipioni . . . poterat**: 'Scipio could decide on no plan.' **17. Hannibalem**: object of *avertit*, l. 20. **18. incertum**: it is hard to believe that Hannibal can have hesitated here or thought of any other course than to hasten on, in order to cross the Alps before winter. The arrival of this embassy, however, would have a stimulating effect on his soldiers. **22. integro bello**: 'without trying a battle.' **23. nusquam . . . libatis viribus**: Polybius gives the numbers of the army after the passage of the Rhone as 38,000 foot and 8,000 horse. **24. censent**: historical present. **25. iter inmensum Alpesque**: hendiadys. **26. fama**: ablative. **utique inexpertis**: 'especially to people who had not tried it.'

**CHAP. XXX. 28. postquam . . . stetit**: 'after he decided.' **30. militum versat animos**: 'sought to work upon the minds of the soldiers.' Notice in the following indirect quotation the alternation of primary and secondary tenses in the subordinate

clauses like that of perfect and historical present in *oratio recta*.

**Page 103.** 1. *facere* : present, because they were still serving. 3. *duo maria* : the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. **Carthaginiensium essent** : 'were subject to the C. ;' this must be addressed to the Africans ; it is very different from the speech to the Spaniards in ch. xxi. 4. *quod . . . Romanus* : 'because the Roman people had demanded the surrender of all who had fought against Saguntum, as if on account of a crime against itself ;' an intentional exaggeration. 5. *noxam* : for the legal significance of this term, *vide* Sandars' Justinian, 547-8 (Am. ed.). 7. *liberandumque orbem* : it was much later that the 'world' became subject to Rome ; this is doubtless an historical prolepsis rather than a prophetic implication intentionally put into the speaker's mouth. 8. *exortus* : unusual for *ortus*. 9. *multo maiorem partem* : Polybius says the distance from New Carthage to the Ebro was 2,600 stadia, thence to the Rhone 3,200, thence over the Alps to Italy 2,600.

14. *Italiae sit* : 'belonged to,' 'formed part of Italy.' 16. *montium altitudines = montes alti*. *Fingerent . . . iugis* : 'they might imagine them higher than the peaks of the Pyrenees ;' *oratio recta* would be *fingatis* or *fingite*. 21. *sublime* : 'in the air.' 24. *modo* : construe with *migrantium* ; *tuto* : with *transmisisse*. 28. *caput orbis terrarum* : a very unlikely expression for Hannibal. 29. *adeo . . . quod* : usually *adeo . . . ut*. 30. *quondam* : in 390 B. C. 31. *ea* : Rome and her possessions. 32. *cederent* : 'confess themselves inferior.' 33. *sperent* : the author cannot consciously have intended all the fine distinctions attributed to him by editors at every variation in tense sequence ; a certain careless ease in such matters is one of the charms of his style. **campum interiacentem** : the Campus Martius.

2600

3200

2600

400

1000

**Page 104.** CHAP. XXXI. 1. *corpora curare* : 'to refresh themselves.' 3. *adversa ripa* : 'up the bank.' 4. *esset* : in fact it was not ; *erat* would mean that it was. 7. *Quartis castris* : 'after four days' march.' 8. *diversis ex Alpibus* : 'from different parts of the Alps ;' the Rhone rises in the Pennine, the Isère in the Graian Alps. 10. *Insulae* : dative,

A. 231, *δ*; H. 387, N. 1; G. 322. **11. prope**: near the confluence of the rivers and the point just reached by the army. **iam inde**: 'already at that time.' **12. discors erat**: i. e. *gens*. **13. Regni**: objective genitive. **14. imperitarat**: frequentative for simple verb. **15. qui . . . iure . . . poterat**: refers to *fratre*, not *coetu*. **16. peroportuna**: translate as an adverb. **18. principumque**: 'the chief men' of the tribe, not the two princes. **20. vestis**: collective; this must have been much needed. The Spanish troops ordinarily wore white linen tunics, and the autumn was now coming on. A large part of the enormous loss in the passage of the mountains must have been due to the effects of the cold upon the natives of warm climates.

**22. non recta regione**: not in a direct line. The question of Hannibal's route over the Alps, already in Livy's time a matter of debate, has been a favorite subject of controversy ever since. Many books have been written in the vain attempt to settle it, and there is hardly a pass from the St. Gothard to the Mediterranean that has not found its advocates. It is safe to say that the question will never be answered beyond a doubt. The great majority of historical authorities have narrowed it down to a choice between the Little St. Bernard, the Mont Cenis, and the Mont Genève passes; and the preponderance of opinion rather favors the first of these three. It is generally agreed that Polybius' account points to the Little St. Bernard as Hannibal's pass. We are not here concerned with the fact of the case, but with what Livy means to indicate; and his statements, such as they are, seem to point to the Mont Genève, with a slight possibility in favor of the Col d'Argentière. For a convenient discussion of this subject, *vide* Capes' Livy, Appendix i. A *résumé* of all that is known of the matter is given by Hermann Schiller, in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, iv. 705, 737, 769.

**23. ad laevam in Tricastinos**: *vide* map. *Ad laevam* is, at best, difficult to explain; the author may have said 'left' when he meant 'right;' or Hannibal may have gone up the valley of the Isère on the south side among the *Tricastini*, and not turned to either side till he reached the Drac; or he may have turned southward after leaving the *Insula*, and then struck eastward (*ad laevam* as he came southward) into the valley of

the Drome, then gone on viâ *Vapincum* (Gap) to *Eborodunum* (Embrun) on the upper *Druentia* (Durance). But the whole description of the route leaves much to be desired in point of clearness, and can in no perfectly satisfactory way be reconciled with the geography of the region. in **Tricastinos**: it seems that the army did not enter the *Insula Allobrogum* at all; the northern boundary of the Tricastini was the Isère, and their capital, afterward named by the Romans *Augusta Tricastinorum*, is now Aouste on the Drome. **24. Vocontiorum**: this nation inhabited the region from the Drac to the Durance; if the march was up the valley of the Drac, it skirted their northeast frontier. **25. Tricorios**: on the upper Drac, east of the Vocontii. **26. ad Druentiam**: it has been suggested with some plausibility that Hannibal, after going up the south bank of the Isère, passed from the valley of the Drac into that of the Druentia, by turning into that of the Romanche. **Alpinus amnis**: it rises in the Cottian Alps (Mont Genève); it has been remarked that the description in the context does not suit the upper part of this river, which is a small, insignificant stream. **31. vada**: 'shoals.' **gurgites**: 'deep places.'

**Page 105.** 1. *ad hoc*: 'and besides.' 4. *cetera*: accusative neuter plural.

CHAP. XXXII. 7. **quadrato agmine**: cf. note on p. 78, l. 35. 9. **nec facile . . . adsecuturum**: 'and that it would not be easy for him to overtake those who had so much the start of him.' 11. **tutius faciliusque**: the enemy would be encountered with less danger and trouble after crossing the mountains, because they were sure to suffer loss in so doing. 12. **auxillis Romanis**: troops sent from Rome to help the allies. A. 243, *d*; H. 414, III.; G. 388. 14. **fratrem . . . misit**: he had a right to depute this command to a lieutenant. Under the circumstances, he seems to have taken the wisest course, for it was supremely important to keep Hasdrubal busy in Spain, and the Romans had not then the same reason that they afterwards had to fear Hannibal. There were already about twenty-five thousand troops in Cisalpine Gaul, apparently a sufficient force to check the invader. Scipio's great mistake was in not attacking the Punic army instantly upon its arrival

at the foot of the Alps, before it recovered from its fatigues. **18. Genuam**: he may have stopped there to gain further information, but he went on to Pisa; cf. p. 112, l. 8. **qui circa Padum erat exercitus**: the substantive attracted into the relative clause; the armies of the two praetors, besides the colonists of Placentia and Cremona.

**20. ab Druentia**: *ab* probably means from the place where he reached and perhaps crossed it, up along the river. **campestri maxime itinere**: 'by a route mainly through level country.' East of Gap the valley of the Durance is quite broad, but this phrase is scarcely applicable. But if he had come by the valley of the Romanche he would not have gone near Gap. The valley of Barcelonette has been suggested as what is meant, but that is too far south. **ad Alpīs**: doubtless in the vicinity of Embrun. **21. cum bona pace**: 'unmolested by.' **22. prius . . . praecepta**: pleonasm. **in maius vero ferri solent**: 'are generally exaggerated;' *efferrī* would be more usual.

**24. montium**: this terrific description is quite unsuited to the lower slopes of the Alps. Livy had never visited this region. We notice in him, as in most ancient writers, an absence of appreciation of the picturesque in nature. They were so impressed by the terrors, that they failed to see the grandeur of mountain scenery. **26. torrida**: 'shrivelled;' the same word expresses the effect of intense cold and heat. **intonsi**: 'with hair and beards untrimmed.' **inculti**: 'unkempt,' 'wild.' **28. Erigentibus . . . olivos**: 'as they directed their march up the first slopes.' The scene is probably some pass near Embrun, which may be the *castellum* mentioned p. 107, l. 15. **29. imminentes**: accusative. **insidentes**: nominative. **32. dedissent**: 'would have caused.' **consistere signa iussit**: 'ordered a halt.' **Gallisque**: these may be Cisalpine Gauls sent to meet the Carthaginians (cf. ch. xxix.), or guides furnished by Brancus, the Allobrogian chief.

**Page 106. 1. transitum ea non esse**: 'that the passage of the gorge could not be forced.' **3. quam extensissima potest valle**: 'in the widest part of the valley that he could find;' note the superlative of a participle. **4. abhorrentis**: accusative; 'who did not differ' (from the moun-

taineers). 7. *dilabi*: 'dispersed.' *subiit*: 'approached.' *ut . . . vim . . . facturus*: 'as if he were going to force his way.' 11. *laxatasque*: 'thinned out,' 'reduced.' 12. *quam pro numero*: 'than were in proportion to the number' of those who remained in camp. 13. *in speciem*: 'for appearance' sake,' 'to deceive the enemy.' 15. *quoque*: ablative of *quisque*, agreeing with *viro*. *angustias evadit*: 'passed through the defile.'

CHAP. XXXIII. 17. *castra mota*: 'they broke camp.' 18. *incedere*: 'to advance in order.' 19. *castellis*: 'mountain villages,' 'hamlets.' 20. *arce*: 'stronghold,' in this case a natural one. *imminentis*: agrees with *alios*. 21. *via transire*: 'going along by the road;' this illustrates the author's tendency to dispense with prepositions; we should expect *per viam*; cf. *maritima ora*, p. 95, l. 21. *hostis*: construe with the first, as well as the second *alios*. 22. *immobiles . . . defixit*: 'made them stand . . . motionless.' 24. *quidquid = si quid*. 25. *ipsi*: i. e. *montani*. *ad perniciem*: for the destruction of the Carthaginians. 26. *iuxta = pariter*; often so used by Livy. *adsueti*: the construction with *in* and accusative is exceptional, usually this word is followed by the dative as p. 89, l. 10. 28. *sibi = pro se*; 'selfishly.' *quoque tendente*: 'as each one strove.' 30. *infestum . . . faciebant*: 'endangered the column of march.' 32. *repercussaeque*: 'reëchoing;' applies properly to *clamores*, but is transferred to *valles*. *territi trepidabant*: 'were rushing about in their fright.'

Page 107. 1. *stragem*: 'overturning.' 3. *turba*: the pushing of the crowd in the narrow way. 4. *in inmensum altitudinis*: a bold use of adjective as substantive; = *in inmensam altitudinem*, 'to an enormous depth,' 'into a fathomless abyss.' 5. *quosdam et armatos*: implying that *multos*, l. 3, means the mule drivers, not the soldiers. *sed ruinae maxime modo*: 'but very much like a falling wall.' 9. *interrumpi agmen*: the column was broken by the barbarian attack, so that front and rear were separated by a body of the enemy. 10. *exutum = si exutus esset*. A. 310, a; H. 549, 2; G. 594, 2. 11. *traduxisset*: i. e. through the pass. *decurrit*: perfect. 13. *momento temporis*: cf. p. 87, l. 25,



without *temporis*. **15. Castellum**: as before suggested, possibly this was Eborodunum, which lay on the upper Durance, on a steep hill at the foot of the Alps. **16. viculos**: 'hamlets.' **17. captivo**: often applied to inanimate things. Cf. p. 64, l. 10. **19. magno opere**: often written as one word.

CHAP. XXXIV. **21. Perventum**: the frequent use of neuter verbs in compound tenses of the passive is characteristic of Livy's style. **frequentem**: 'full of.' **22. ut inter**: 'considering that it was among.' **populum**: 'a district,' not, as usual, the people who inhabited it; cf. similar use of *δημος*. There are many valleys among the foot hills of this region, with mild climate and fertile soil, hence the large number of farmers (*cultoribus*) is natural. **27. commeatum**: 'provisions.' **28. ad fidem promissorum**: 'as a pledge of the fulfilment of their promises;' brachylogy. **33. ut inter pacatos**: sc. *feri solet*. **composito agmine**: virtually equivalent to *quadrato agmine*, cf. p. 78, l. 35, and note.

**Page 108. 2. robore**: 'main body;' generally the 'flower' of the army. **4. parte altera**: 'on one side.' **subiectam**: 'running close under.' **6. petunt**: 'assailed them.' **7. In eos versa . . . quin**, etc.: 'when the infantry faced about against these (enemies in the rear), it became perfectly clear that,' etc.

**10. accipienda . . . fuerit**: Roby, Lat. Gr. 1521. **Tunc quoque**: 'even then,' 'as it was.' **extremum periculi = extremum periculum**. **12. demittere agmen in angustias**: the infantry had not yet reached the narrowest part of the defile, when it was thus attacked in the rear and flank. While he thus hesitated, the foremost part of the army, passing on, became separated from the rear, and the enemy took advantage of the chance to occupy the vacant road. **quia non . . . reliqui erat**: 'because no force was left to protect the rear of the infantry, as he had himself (with the infantry) protected that of the cavalry,' i. e. the infantry itself was the rear guard. **14. per obliqua**: 'on the flank.'

CHAP. XXXV. **19. iunctae copiae**: i. e. after the separation of the previous night. **23. utcumque . . . daret**: a conditional relative clause corresponding to the form of protasis in A. 309, b; *vide* also 316; H. 507, 2, 511, 1; G. 594, 1.

**24. progressi morative** : 'those who straggled ahead or lagged behind the main body.' **25. sicut . . . ita** : 'whilst . . . yet.'

**26. quacumque incederent** : same construction as *daret*, l. 24.

**27. insuetis** : i. e. to the elephants.

**29. Nono die** : after beginning the ascent; the point of departure is not mentioned, but cf. note on p. 105, l. 20, *ad Alpes*. *Nono* : ninth, including the days of departure and arrival; three days were spent in fighting, one in camp, four in marching; Polybius gives the same number of days, but his account is understood to apply to the Little St. Bernard, and we have supposed Livy's to indicate the Mont Genève. **in iugum** : the summit of this pass is 6,102 feet above the sea. **per invia . . . faciebant** : 'over ground where there was generally no road and after (fruitless) wanderings, which were caused either by the treachery of the guides, or, where they were not trusted, by the fact that valleys were mistakenly entered by those who guessed at the road;' that is, they wasted time in exploring valleys that led them out of their way; the subjects of *faciebant* are *fraus* and *valles*.

**32. Biduum** : undoubtedly the day of arrival should be counted as one of these two. **in iugo** : on the summit of the Little St. Bernard and on that of the Mont Genève there are considerable level spaces; on the latter there is some timber, and oats and rye are cultivated.

**Page 109. 4. nivis . . . casus** : 'a fall of snow;' snow begins on the Little St. Bernard about the end of September, somewhat later on the Mont Genève. **occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum** : 'as the constellation of the Pleiades was now near its setting,' i. e. their morning setting simultaneous with sunrise. We learn from Pliny that the ancients regarded the setting of this constellation at the end of October as the beginning of winter.

If the passage of the mountains did not take place till the end of October, the events from this time to the battle of the Trebia, including the bringing of the Roman army from Sicily to the Po, are somewhat crowded. We may therefore translate *iam occidente* 'approaching their setting,' and place the crossing early in October.

7. **pigritiaque et desperatio**: 'indifference and discouragement.' 8. **praegressus signa**: going to the head of the column from his place further toward the rear. **in promunturio**: no point commanding such a view as that described is to be found on either of the two passes last mentioned. We must regard this as one of the author's rhetorical flights above the region of fact. 13. **uno . . . altero**: note the change from cardinal to ordinal. **summum**: adverbial accusative; 'at most.'

17. **furta**: 'stealthy attacks.' 18. **ut**: 'inasmuch as,' 'since.' 19. **ab Italia**: 'on the Italian side.' 21. **sustinere se a lapsu**: 'to save themselves from falling.' 22. **paulum titubassent**: 'had but slightly staggered' or 'stumbled.' **haerere adfixi vestigio suo**: 'to keep their footing'; **adfixi** expresses the effort to remain firm in any one spot. 23. **occiderent**: intransitive.

CHAP. XXXVI. 24. **rupem**: probably a narrow rocky ledge on which they were walking. 25. **rectis**: perpendicular. **temptabundus**: feeling for points of support. 28. **lapsu terrae**: a 'land-slide,' 'avalanche.' **in . . . altitudinem**: this is evidently a mistake made by the author in copying from Polybius or their common authority. Polybius tells of a place where the road was thus swept away for a *length* of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  stadia (937½ Roman feet).

31. **Digressus**: 'left his place in the column of march.' 33. **quamvis longo ambitu**: 'by however long a circuit.'

Page 110. 1. **circumduceret**: 'would be obliged to lead . . . around;' the subjunctive here has jussive force. 2. **veterem nivem intactam**: 'the unmelted snow of the year before.' It is not at all likely that this was at the altitude of perpetual snow, but in shady glens the snow lasts all summer. The description would suit such a place in some respects, in others it seems like that of the slanting surface of a glacier.

3. **molli nec praealtae**: i. e. *novae nivi*. 5. **dilapsa est**: 'was dissolved.' **per nudam infra glaciem**: 'over the bare ice beneath.' 6. **tabem**: 'slush.' 7. **non recipiente vestigium**: 'affording no foothold.' 8. **in prono citius pedes fallente**: 'betraying the steps the more readily because of its inclined surface.' 9. **adiuissent**: iterative subjunctive. 10.

**ipsis adminiculis prolapsis** : 'when these very supports gave way by slipping out from under them.'

**12. in levi tantum glacie** : 'on what was nothing but smooth ice.'

**13. secabant . . . ingredientia, prolapsa . . . perfringebant** : chiasmus.

**14. iactandis gravius in conitendo ungulis** : 'by striking their hoofs in too heavily, in their struggle (to rise).'

**16. alte concreta** : 'deeply frozen;' this seems to refer to an icy crust upon the old snow, rather than the solid ice of a glacier.

CHAP. XXXVII. **18. in iugo** : evidently not the summit (p. 108, l. 29) where they had halted two days, and which they had now left behind.

**20. ad rupem muniendam** : 'to build a road through the rock.'

**22. arboribus circa** : this could not have been above the snow line, and seems to be a contradiction to ll. 10, 11 above, and to ll. 29-31 below. Larches grow on the summit of the Mt. Genève pass, but not of the Little St. Bernard.

**deiectis detruncatisque** : 'felled and trimmed.'

**23. struem** : 'a heap.'

**25. infuso aceto** : 'by pouring vinegar upon it;' this story has always been a subject of controversy. This means of softening rock had long been used in the Spanish mines. Limestone would readily yield to vinegar thus employed. The soldiers may have carried sour wine or vinegar (*posca*) in their canteens. So there is nothing inherently improbable in the statement, if the operation was carried on upon a small scale; the difficulty would be to get enough wood and vinegar. The Journal des Savants for April, 1889, contains an article by M. Berthelot, "*De l'emploi du vinaigre dans le passage des Alpes par Annibal*," showing by citations that the ancients often used vinegar in this way.

**26. molliuntque . . . clivos** : 'render the descent easy by curves at a moderate grade,' i. e. a zigzag path down the face of the steep.

**anfractibus** : fr. *ambi-* and *frangere*.

**28. Quadriduum** : Polybius says the horses and baggage animals were able to pass on after one day's delay, that only the elephants were detained four days.

**29. prope fame absumptis** : 'almost starved to death.'

**30. obruunt nives** : this and the mention of the bare rocky summits are quite inconsistent with the large trees that have just been cut down in the vicinity, and shows how little we

can base an argument upon the author's description of the march. **32. prope silvas**: an awkward expression; it may mean 'almost forests,' or (sc. *fluentes*) *prope silvas*, 'flowing by forests.' **digniora**: 'fitter for.'

**Page 111. 2. muniendo**: 'by the work of road-building.'

CHAP. XXXVIII. **5. maxime**: 'in the main,' without going into every detail. **6. quinto mense**; apparently May—October. **7. quinto decimo die**: nine days to the summit, two days' rest, one day down to the rock, four days' delay, three days for the rest of the descent, make nineteen, or eighteen if one of the two days at the summit was the day of arrival there. Polybius gives the same total, but, as already stated, says that the bulk of the army was detained only one day at the rock. Livy is very careless about such details.

**11. viginti milia**, etc.: Polybius says these numbers were given by Hannibal on the Lacinian tablet. **L. Cincius Alimentus**: cf. Introduction, p. ix. **12. maxime . . . moveret**: 'would have the greatest weight as an authority.'

**14. octoginta milia**: of course, it is quite improbable that a large host of Gauls and Ligurians were brought over the Alps; they joined the army after its arrival in Italy. **15. adducta**: 'brought with him.' **17. transierit**: cf. note on *audierit*, p. 4, l. 6. **19. Taurini**: this tribe lived east of the Cottian Alps; their capital is now Turin. **semigalli**: some authors call them Gauls, but they were more probably Ligurians. The passes that would lead into the country of the Taurini are the Mt. Cenis, the Mt. Genèvre, and the Col d'Argentière.

**20. inter omnes constet**: this is not so. Polybius says that Hannibal descended among the friendly Insubres, which would have been probable and natural, especially as he was conducted by Boian guides. The Boii were allies of the Insubres, to whom the Taurini were hostile. **21. ambigi**: 'that it is disputed.' **22. Poenino**: ablative of the way by which. The Pennine Alps run from the Great St. Bernard, which is here meant, to the Simplon. The derivation is perhaps from the Celtic *pen*, 'a head;' cf. Ben Lomond, Ben Nevis, etc. **inde nomen**: i. e. from *Poenus*, 'the Punic Alps.'

**23. Coellum**: L. Coelius Antipater; cf. Introduction, p. x.

**24. Cremonis iugum**: this name is not understood, but pre-

sumably the Little St. Bernard is meant. **25. Salassos**: living east of the Graian Alps, in the valley of the Dora Baltea, the Val d' Aosta. **Libuos**: further east, between the Salassi and the Insubres; they were tributary to the latter. **26. Nec veri simile**, etc.: second argument against the Great and Little St. Bernard. **ea tum**, etc.: yet long before this Gallic hosts had crossed the Alps in that region. **28. Neque = et non**; *et* with *norint*, *non* with *inditum*.

**29. si . . . movet**: 'if perchance this name serves any one as an argument for the passage of the Carthaginians that way.' **30. Sedūni Verāgri**: living in the modern canton of Valais. **31. norint**: subjunctive in ironical modesty; 'they should know, one would suppose.' **32. sacratum**: having a sanctuary. **Poeninum**: identified with Jupiter by the Romans; there was a Celtic god 'Penn.'

**Page 112. CHAP. XXXIX. 1. ad principia rerum**: 'for the beginning of operations.' **3. armare**: 'to call to arms;' generally it means 'to provide with arms.' **4. in reficiendo**: sc. *se*; 'in the process of recovery.' **5. ex**: 'immediately after.' **6. inluvie tabeque**: 'filth and emaciation.' **7. efferata**: 'wild.' **movebat**: 'affected.' **8. Manlio Atilioque**: the praetors. **9. tirone**: 'raw,' 'composed of raw recruits.' **novis ignominiiis**: the recent disgraceful discomfitures at the hands of the Gauls described in ch. xxv. **10. nondum refecto**, etc.: a little more promptness on the part of the Romans in Cisalpine Gaul would probably have resulted in Hannibal's defeat at the foot of the Alps.

**13. caput gentis**: Augusta Taurinorum, as the Romans soon after named it, now Turin. **18. quae = utra**. **20. sicuti . . . ita**: 'while . . . yet.' **23. celeberrimum**: aside from his own achievements, Hannibal must have inherited much of the prestige of his father, the one enemy whom the Romans had failed to conquer. **24. eo ipso, quod**: 'from the very fact that.' **potissimum**: 'in preference to all others.' **26. inter se opinionem**: 'their mutual respect.' **29. Occupavit . . . traicere**: cf. note on p. 18, l. 27. **Padum traicere**: above Placentia, between the Lambrus and the Ticinus.

**Page 113. CHAP. XL. 2. supersedissem**: 'I should have considered it superfluous.' **apud vos**: illogical, for

*apud eum*. **3. referret**: i. e. *si educerem*; 'what would (in that case) be the use.' **4. ad Rhodanum**: a reference to the cavalry encounter described in ch. xxix.; the expressions are highly exaggerated. **vicissent**: subjunctive by assimilation to *referret*, to which it is subordinate. A. 342; H. 529, II.; G. 666. But *habui* (l. 7) states a fact independently of the connection and subordination of the clause.

**6. confessionem . . . habui**: 'I held his confession in retreating and refusing to fight as equivalent to a victory.' **8. Hispaniae provinciae**: dative. **9. meis auspiciis**: the auspices were taken by the commander-in-chief; if they were taken by a lieutenant, it was only in the name and as the representative of the former, not in his own capacity. **eum**: i. e. *exercitum*. **10. ego**: asyndeton; this is the beginning of the second member of the causal clause. **voluit**: singular because *senatus populusque Romanus* together constitute a single unit.

**12. huic . . . certamini**: it was perfectly competent for the consul thus to take the direction of the Italian campaign, instead of going on to Spain, as originally intended. **14. cum iis eat**, etc.: brief for *vobis dico cum iis esse*, etc. **16. vicistis** and **exegistis** apply, not to the individuals addressed, but to a former generation. **per viginti annos**: only ten years were finally allowed for the payment of the indemnity after the first Punic war. **17. Siciliam ac Sardiniam**: cf. note on p. 74, l. 20. **21. incolumi**: before the losses suffered in crossing the mountains. **pugnam detractavere**: 'refused to fight.' **22. duabus partibus**: 'two-thirds; *tribus partibus* would be three-quarters, *quattuor partibus* four-fifths, and so on. Even counting the whole losses since leaving the Pyrenees, this is a slight exaggeration.

**23. At enim**, etc.: a supposed objection offered by his auditors. **26. inlue squalore**: 'by filth and misery.' **28. ad hoc**: 'besides.' **praeusti** = 'frost-bitten' — at the extremities (*prae*), toes and fingers. **torrida**: 'parched,' 'pinched.' **31. habetis**: 'you have to deal with.'

**Page 114.** **2. committere ac profigare**: 'begin and virtually decide.' **4. conficere**: 'put the finishing touches to.'

CHAP. XLI. 5. *vestri adhortandi*: *vestri* is neuter singular of *vester*. 7. *Licuit . . . ire*: 'I might have gone.' 9. *haberem*: 'I should (now) have.' 11. *minorem . . . molem belli*: 'a less difficult campaign.' 12. *ad famam*: 'upon hearing of.' 14. *Equestri proelio, qua parte*: *constructio ad synesim*; *qua parte* refers to *equitatus* included in the adjective *equestri*. 15. *fudi*: he was not personally present. 20. *timendo*: ironical. *hosti*: A. 228, b. *cum declinarem*: depending on *incidisse* not on *videor*; cf. note on *vicissent*, p. 113, l. 4. 21. *occurrere in vestigiis*: 'to dog his steps.' 23. *alios*: 'another sort of.' *per*: 'during the last.'

25. *Ab Eryce*: Eryx was the stronghold where Hamilcar had maintained himself during the last years of the first war, and whence he had to be allowed to depart with the honors of war. *duodevicens denariis*: 'eighteen denarii apiece' = three dollars; a low price, but the Romans probably did not think it wise to ask more. 26. *aestimatos*: from *aes*, copper-valuation.

27. *itinerum Herculis*: Hercules is said to have passed over the Graian (Grecian) Alps in coming from Spain with the oxen of Geryon; cf. Bk. i. ch. 7. *vectigalis stipendiariusque*: *vectigal* includes such regular taxation as tithes of produce, rent to the state for use of the *ager publicus*, port dues, and customs; *stipendium* is a general word for tribute, and is especially applied to a war indemnity imposed on a conquered state. The phrase here is a rhetorical exaggeration, for Carthage had paid only *stipendium*, and that for ten years, not twenty, so that the payment was finished in Hamilcar's lifetime. 28. *quem nisi . . . = qui, nisi eum . . .* 29. *agitaret*: 'maddened.' *respiceret*: 'would have some regard for.' 31. *scripta manu*: Hamilcar had conducted the preliminary negotiations with Lutatius Catulus. 33. *fremens maerensque*: 'with rage and grief in his heart.'

Page 115. 3. *velim*: A. 311, b; H. 486, l; G. 250. 4. *velut si . . . videatis*: A. 312, R; H. 513, II, N. I; G. 604. 7. *in Africam traicere*: it was but ninety miles from Sicily. 8. *intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine*: an absurd exaggeration, as the third Punic war shows. 10. *tutela deinde*



**nostrae duximus** : 'we considered them thereafter as under our protection ;' the Romans allowed them, at the beginning of the Mercenaries' War, to buy grain and levy troops in Italy and Sicily, but soon seized Sardinia by an outrageous abuse of power.

**11. Pro his inperitis** : 'in return for these favors.' **13. utinam . . . esset** : A. 267, *b* ; H. 483, I, 2 ; G. 254. **15. de** : note the prepositions ; *de* with the object one fights to gain, *pro* (l. 16) with the object one defends. **17. nisi** : 'if . . . not,' not 'unless.' **18. quas dum**, etc. = *ut, dum eas*, etc. **21. non** = *non solum*. **corpus suum** : 'himself ;' we have already *se* as subject. **25. vis virtusque** : paronomasia.

CHAP. XLII. **27. Haec** : sc. *dixit* or *egit*. **31. ecquis** : 'whether any.'

**Page 116. 1. Cum . . . poscerent, et . . . esset** : the sense is iterative, and we find the imperfect indicative in the principal clause, *capiebat*, l. 5. **ad unum** : 'to a man.' **ferum pugnandumque** : hendiadys. **2. delecta** : the lots were thrown into a vase or urn, or, in this case probably, a helmet, whence they were shaken out singly (*exciderat*). **3. culusque** : not genitive of *quisque*, but = *et cuius*. **5. tripudiis** : for the etymology, *vide* Corssen, i. 358. **6. dimicaret** : iterative subjunctive. **7. eiusdem . . . condicionis homines** : i. e. the other prisoners. **8. spectantes vulgo** : 'the mass of the spectators.'

CHAP. XLIII. **10. sic . . . adfectos** : 'in this state of mind.' **paribus** : substantive, 'pairs.' **11. dimisisset** : he broke up this informal gathering and called together a regular assembly of the army (*contio*). Polybius says he at once addressed the troops, which seems more natural. **12. in alienae sortis exemplo** : i. e. at the sight of the conduct of other men in their position, serving you as an example of how you should act in yours.

**14. vicinus** : 'victory is ours ;' perfect to express a future event regarded as absolutely certain. **15. quaedam** : this pronoun is often used to introduce a metaphor. **16. nescio an** : 'I rather think that,' etc. **maiora** : 'stronger.' **17. maioresque necessitates** : 'more desperate straits.'

**18. dextra laevaue** : ablative. **duo maria** : Mediterranean and Adriatic. **20. circa** : sc. *est* ; we should rather expect *a fronte*, but the word is not to be taken too literally ; there were many rivers in the neighborhood, of which they had but vague impressions. **maior ac violentior Rhodano** : a rhetorical exaggeration. **21. integris vobis ac vigentibus** : 'when your numbers and strength were unimpaired.'

**27. parentibus** : A. 229 ; H. 385, II., 2. **31. In** : 'in the hope of.' **32. Satis adhuc** : 'long enough.' **vastis** : 'wild,' 'desert,' not 'vast.' **33. Lusitaniae** : corresponding to the modern Portugal and the adjacent parts of Spain. **Celtiberiaequae** : the central region of the Spanish peninsula. **consectando . . . vidistis** : 'you have followed . . . without seeing.'

**Page 117. 6. emeritis stipendiis** : 'after your campaigns are finished.' **7. Nec = et ne. quam magni nominis . . . tam difficilem** : 'difficult in proportion to the prestige of the enemy.' **8. existimaritis** : A. 266, *b* ; H. 484, IV., N. I, G. 266. **9. perlevi momento** : 'by very slight effort.' **10. fulgore** : 'glamour.' **11. cur . . . comparandi sint** : A. 320, *a* ; H. 503, I. ; G. 634. Livy prefers the gerundive to the verbal in *-bilis*. **12. Ut . . . taceam** : 'not to mention.' **viginti annorum militiam** (sc. *peractam*) : applicable to Hamilcar's veterans, of whom there were doubtless a few in the army.' **illa** : 'that well known ;' A. 102, *b* ; H. 450, 4 ; G. 292, 2.

**13. Herculis columnis** : the 'Pillars of Hercules ;' Calpe (Gibraltar) in Spain, and Abŷla in Africa. **14. ab Oceano** : very few had come so far. **16. hac ipsa aestate caeso**, etc. : referring to the events in ch. xxv. **19. natum . . . eductum** : this is consistent rather with the usual version of Hannibal's boyhood than with that implied in ch. iii. and iv. ; **eductum** : cf. note on same word, p. 49, l. 30.

**22. semenstri** : the consuls took office March 15th. **desertore** : it will be remembered that Scipio had sent his original army on to Spain. **25. parvi** : A. 252, *a* ; H. 404 ; G. 379.

**26. quod nemo est** : A. 333 ; H. 540, IV., N. ; G. 525. **27. cui . . . decora** : 'to whom also I cannot, from having been an eye-witness of his gallantry, recall his own brave deeds,

specifying the time and place of their performance.' 31. *ignotos . . . ignorantesque*: pleonasm.

**Page 118.** CHAP. XLIV. 1. *frenatos infrenatosque*: respectively the Spanish and Numidian cavalry; the latter used no saddles and no bridles (*infrenatos*); *in-* is here the negative prefix. 2. *socios*: Africans as well as Spaniards, all but the Carthaginian citizens. 7. *dolor*, etc.: besides the natural smart of defeat, they had reason to resent Rome's unfair and overbearing conduct in the years since the first war. 9. *deinde vos omnes*: no such demand as this was made. *qui . . . oppugnassetis*: 'who (as they said) had besieged;' informal indirect discourse, implied in *depoposcerunt*. 10. *deditos*: A. 310, *a*; H. 549, 2; G. 594, 2. *adfecturi fuerunt*: A. 308, *d*; H. 511, 2; G. 599, R. 3.

11. *suique arbitrii*: A. 214, *c*; H. 401; G. 365. 12. *Cum quibus . . . habeamus*: the treaty of 241 B. C. forbade war with any ally of Rome. 13. *modum inponere*: 'to prescribe. 14. *montium fluminumque*: a rhetorical flourish; he means simply the Ebro river. 16. *Ne transieris*: here Rome appears as party to an imaginary dialogue with Carthage, represented by Hannibal. *Ne quid . . . cum Saguntinis*: but the treaty with Hasdrubal had merely secured the independence of Saguntum. 17. *At cis Hiberum*: I have preferred this reading to *at liberum*. 18. *vestigio*: 'from where you are standing.' 21. *autem*: 'do I say?' this figure of rhetoric is called *epanorthosis*, "correction."

22. *unum = alterum*. *in Africam*: Sempronius never went beyond Sicily. 23. *in Hispaniam*: Scipio did not reach Spain till the following year. *Nihil . . . relictum est, nisi = nihil habebimus, nisi*; hence *vindicarimus*, future perfect. 25. *respectum*: 'a refuge,' a place to look back to. 26. *vobis*: A. 272, *a*. 27. *fortibus viris*: a Grecism. A. 272, *b*; H. 536, 2, 3. *omnibus . . . certa desperatione abruptis*: 'renouncing with decision all hopes,' etc. 29. *dubitabit*: 'wavers,' euphemistic for 'inclines to the enemy.' 31. *viciatis*: A. 307, *e*.

**Page 119.** CHAP. XLV. 2. *ponte Ticinum iungunt*: 'build a bridge over the Ticinus;' originally they must have

said *ponte ripas fluminis iungere*; the Ticino is a tributary of the Po, flowing into it near Pavia. **3. castellum**: a redoubt, *tête de pont*. **insuper**: 'besides;' we say 'over and above.'

**5. ala**: five hundred seems to have been the regular number of a regiment of Numidian cavalry; cf. p. 102, l. 2, and p. 193, l. 17. **6. parci**: A. 230; H. 465, 1; G. 345, 3. **7. defectionem**: from the Romans to himself.

**9. agrum Insubrium**: the fact is that most of the Insubres lived east of the Ticinus. **Victumulis**: in the district of Vercellae, later known for its gold mines. Livy thus puts the battle a good deal further north than Polybius, who implies that it was quite near the Po; the scene of it cannot be certainly determined. **12. cerneret**: A. 325, 326; H. 517, 521, II., 2; G. 586, 587. **13. certa**: 'definite.'

**14. pugnarent**: A. 317; H. 497, 1; G. 545, 1.

**16. velit**: for *vellet*, for greater vividness. **immunem ipsi . . . liberisque**: 'free of tax to himself . . . and his children.'

**18. qui . . . cives . . . fieri vellent**: Hannibal assumes the prerogative, sometimes exercised by Roman generals, of conferring citizenship. **20. ne cuius . . . vellent**: 'that their lot should be such that they should not wish to exchange it for that of any of their countrymen.'

**21. secum = cum sua**. **22. binaque**: two new slaves for each one set free.

**24. silicem**: a flint, a relic of immemorial antiquity, was still used by the Romans in sacrifice long after the author's day. **retinens**: i. e. *dum precabat*. **26. secundum**: 'immediately after.'

**27. velut dis . . . acceptis**: 'as if each one had received from the gods a guaranty of the fulfilment of his hopes;' *quisque*, without grammatical construction, is appositive to the logical subject of the clause. **28. id morae . . . rati**:

'thinking that the only cause of delay in realizing their hopes was the fact that they were not yet fighting.'

**29. potienda**: A. 249, N.; H. 421, N. 4; G. 405, R. I.

**Page 120. CHAP. XLVI. 3. lupus**: the mere appearance of a wolf in an unusual place was considered ominous; its ferocious action only exaggerated the significance of the omen. **obviis**: substantive, 'those whom it met.'

**4. examen**: i. e. *ex-agi-men, exagmen*. **praetorio**: the *praetorium* was the '*templum*' of a camp. **6. iaculatoribusque**

**expeditis**: rather pleonastic, for all *iaculatores* were *expediti*; the latter word may, however, express the reason why they were taken, 'dart-men because they were light-armed.' 7. **copiasque, quantae**, etc.: A. 334, c; H. 529, II., 2. 9. **circa**: with adjective force. 11. **propinquantium**: poetic for *propinquantium*. Livy is fond of using simple verbs for compounds.

12. **Consistit**: momentary action of the collective body; *expediebant*, continuing action of the component individuals. 14. **Romanos sociorumque**, etc.: this cavalry was heavier than the Gallic. 15. **in subsidiis**: 'in reserve,' 'in the second line.' **frenatos**: i.e. the heavy Spanish horse. 16. **cornua . . . firmat**: 'posts on the wings,' lit. 'makes strong wings of N.' **Numidis**: instrumental ablative of persons, often used by the author. 17. **fugerunt . . . aciem**: 'retreated among the reserves in the second line.' 19. **labentibus**: falling from their horses (restive and frightened by the footmen, *quia turbabant*, etc.). 20. **desilientibus**: 'jumping off,' so as to fight on foot (explained by *ubi . . . vidissent*).

21. **ad pedes pugna venerat**: 'it had become a battle on foot' (and so continued until, etc.). 25. **tum primum pubescentis**: 'just coming to manhood:' he was in his seventeenth year. **propulsatum**: 'averted.' 26. **erit**: 'was, as we shall see.' 27. **victoriam**: the victory at Zama in Africa, 202 B. C., which brought this war to an end. 30. **alius confertus equitatus**: perhaps 'the rest of the cavalry in close array,' some having fled with the *iaculatores*; or 'the rest,' i.e. 'the cavalry,' distinguished from the *iaculatores*.

**Page 121.** 1. **reduxit**: 'marched back.' **Servati consulis decus**: 'the honor of having saved the consul.' **Coelius (Antipater)**, *vide* Introduction, p. x. 2. **equidem**: generally used with verb in first person. 3. **plures**: cf. p. 56, l. 23. **fama obtinuit**: *obtinuit* is intransitive, *fama* nominative; *quod* is not applicable to this clause. Wsb. explains the irregularity by suggesting that the author had in mind as predicate to *quod*, *factum esse*, which would be applicable to both clauses.

CHAP. XLVII. 7. **ob id**: strictly classical prose says *ob eam rem*. 9. **silentio**: without the usual trumpet signals.

**10. ab Ticino**: 'from the vicinity of the Ticinus; ' Scipio had encamped some distance west of the river. Of course it is here implied that he recrossed it. **11. iunxerat flumen** 'had bridged the river.' **12. Prius . . . profectos**: probably an exaggeration, yet Polybius explains that Hannibal waited some time, expecting an attack of the Roman infantry. **13. Placentiam**: this was on the south bank of the Po, near the mouth of the Trebia. **satis sciret**: 'was well aware.'

**14. moratorum**: from *moratus*. **in citeriore ripa Padi**: Hannibal appears to have gone up the north bank of the Po, west of the Ticinus, till he found a crossing-place. But there has been a great deal of controversy about the different movements of the armies, and several questions remain to be settled. **15. ratem**: 'bridge of boats.' **17. in secundam aquam labente**: 'drifting down stream.' **auctor est**: 'is authority for the statement that,' etc. **18. Magonem**: the younger of Hannibal's two brothers.

**20. in ordinem**: 'in a row.' **21. ad sustinendum**, etc.: 'to act as a breakwater.' **peritis**: dative. **22. amnis**: A. 218, a; H. 399, 2; G. 373. **fidem fecerint**: 'awaken belief,' 'meet credence; ' subjunctive of modesty. **24. ut iam . . . utres**; 'even granting that all the Spaniards had floated across on their inflated bags.' **27. Potiores apud me auctores sunt**: 'to my mind those authors have greater weight,' 'are more credible, who,' etc.

**Page 122. 1. Placentiam**: in the direction of Placentia. **3. acie directa**: 'with the army formed in battle array.'

CHAP. XLVIII. **5. in castris Romanis**: the first camp was probably on the west bank of the Trebia, though near Placentia; there is no statement yet of either party's having crossed the river. **6. Gallis**: mercenaries, not the Cenomani mentioned in ch. lv. **8. portas**: the camp had one gate on each of its four sides. **9. adlocutus et . . . accensos**: *adloquor* being deponent has no passive, hence the non-concinnity. **12. contactosque eo scelere**: 'infected by the bad example.'

**14. gravis**: 'crippled by,' 'suffering from; ' less strong than *aeger*. **adhuc**: strictly means 'till now,' but Livy often uses it of the past. **quarta vigilia**: the last quarter of the

night, before sunrise. **16. inpeditores equiti**: 'less adapted for the movements of cavalry.' **17. Minus . . . fefellit**: 'was less successful in eluding observation,' than at the Tici-nus. **19. utique novissimum agmen**: 'at least the rear guard.'

**23. transgressos**: i. e. from the west to the east bank. **24. metantisque castra**: 'laying out the camp.' The Roman camp was always of fixed proportions and, so far as possible, upon the same plan. **25. citra**: i. e. on the west bank. **26. iactati**: 'irritated' by motion.

**collegam . . . expectandum**: Sempronius would come to join Scipio by the Aemilian Way from Ariminum on the Adriatic. This was the natural and easy line of communication with the capital. Therefore it seems extremely improbable that Scipio would have retreated from the east to the west bank, leaving Hannibal in possession of his line of communication. **29. Nec procul inde Hannibal**: on the opposite bank, however, as appears in the sequel. **32. excipiebat**: 'awaited him.'

**Page 123. 1. Clastidium**: now Casteggio, about twenty-five miles west of the Trebia, a fortified place, where the Romans had a supply of military stores. **numerus**: 'quantity.' **2. mittit**: sc. *milites* or the like. **vim pararent**: 'were preparing for an attack.' **4. nummis aureis quadringentis**: gold was first coined at Rome in 217 B. C., the year after this occurrence; the *aureus* = 25 *denarii* = \$4.16. These words mean an amount of gold of the value of 400 *aurei*; Roby, Lat. Gr. i., p. 446. **6. horreum**: 'magazine;' not very convenient if the Romans were west and the Carthaginians east of the river. **8. nihil saevitum est**: A. 238, *ô*; H. 378, 2; G. 331, 3.

CHAP. XLIX. **9. constitisset**: 'had come to a stand-still.' **10. interim**: the following events in Sicily had taken place before the encampment on the Trebia, and were rather simultaneous with the occurrences described in chaps. xxvi.-xlvii. **Italiae imminentes**: 'in the vicinity of Italy.' **11. terra marique**: all the fighting was at sea.

**12. Viginti quinqueremes . . . mille armatis**: i. e. about fifty combatants to each ship; by comparison with ch. I. we find that there must have been about two hundred rowers and

sailors in each crew. This miserably inadequate fleet indicates the decadence of the Punic navy. **14. Lipāras**: the chief of the Lipari Islands, north of Sicily, ceded by Carthage to Rome in 241 B. C. The *insula Vulcani* is south of and very near to *Liparae*. **tenuerunt**: sc. *cursum*; 'reached.'

**15. fretum**: i. e. *Siculum*, the strait of Messina. **aestus**: 'a heavy sea.' **16. Hierone**: the faithful and valuable ally of Rome since the early part of the first Punic war. He was now near the end of his long life and his prosperous reign of fifty-four years. His death in 216 B. C. brought to an unhappy conclusion the friendly relations of his kingdom with Rome. **18. opperiens**: 'waiting to receive.' **19. praeter viginti . . . essent**, etc.: 'besides the twenty ships of the fleet to which they themselves belonged;' *classis* is attracted into the relative clause.

**22. veteres socios**: a large part of the island had once belonged to Carthage. **Lilybaei**: (now Marsala) the strong fortress at the west end of the island, the siege of which had occupied the Romans during the last ten years of the first war. **24. Aegatis insulas**: a few miles off Lilybaeum, to the north-west. **25. delectam**: 'driven out of its course.' **26. praetori**: there were then four praetors, including one for Sicily and one for Sardinia-Corsica. The praetor of Sicily was regularly stationed at Lilybaeum.

**provincia**: cf. p. 89, l. 17; he may have been the incumbent of the preceding year, waiting for the arrival of his successor, or appointed to this province in subordination to Sempronius, who was expected to cross into Africa. **28. legati**: 'lieutenants,' staff-officers, not envoys. **tribunique**: the six field-officers of the legion were called *tribuni militum*; they commanded, two at a time, in rotation. **29. suos**: the Roman garrisons of the towns. **ad curam custodiae intendere**: 'admonished to keep careful guard.'

**30. teneri**: like *intendere*, historical infinitive. **31. socii navales** = *navatae et remiges*, as opposed to *milites classici*, marines; so called because in the early days of the Roman navy, the crews were chiefly formed of allies, leaving citizens to do the fighting.

**Page 124. 1. speculis**: 'watch-towers' along the coast. **2. moderati . . . erant**: 'had regulated;' the fleet could easily



arrive long before Hiero's letters. **4. pernox**: a poetical word. **5. sublatiis armamentis**: 'with yards raised,' i. e. 'under full sail.' **10. demendis armamentis**: it was customary to clear away the rigging before going into action. **15. circa ea ipsa loca**: the references to the victory at the Aegæan Islands grow a little tiresome.

CHAP. L. **18. vires conferre**: 'to measure their strength,' 'come to close quarters.' **velle** and **malle** (l. 20): historical infinitives. **19. eludere**: 'to dodge.' **21. sociis navalibus**: as before, crews, distinguished from fighting men. **ad-fatim**: 'to a sufficiency;' akin to *fatisce*, *fatigare*.

**22. sicubi** (*si cubi*, not *sic ubi*): 'if anywhere,' 'wherever.' **conserta . . . esset**: 'had become engaged at close quarters,' had been grappled by the enemy. **23. numerus**: in the first war the Romans ordinarily had one hundred and twenty soldiers and three hundred oarsmen and sailors to a quinquereme. **25. illis**: i. e. *Poenis*. **27. Mille et septingenti**: about fifty soldiers and two hundred sailors and rowers apiece; cf. p. 123, l. 12. **29. perforata**: rammed by the beak of one of the enemy's ships. **30. reduce**: usually in prose this word is applied to living beings only. **32. Messanam venit**: i. e. from Rome.

**Page 125. 1. ornatam armatamque**: 'fully equipped.' **2. praetoriam navem**: 'the flag-ship;' *praetorius* has the general sense 'belonging to the commander-in-chief.' **3. cum exercitu et navibus**: his army was 26,400 men, according to p. 89, l. 28, sqq. It had doubtless marched down by land to Rhegium, and as a whole, certainly, did not take part in the operations described in this and the next chapter.

**7. iuvenis**: forty-three years old in 264, now eighty-nine. **10. quibusdam volentibus . . . fore**: 'that some would be glad of a change of government,' apparently a Greek construction (cf. p. 66, l. 14); though some explain *volentibus* as ablative absolute. **13. Navigantes**: i. e. along the northern coast of Sicily.

CHAP. LI. **18. Melitam**: Malta; fifty-eight miles southwest of Cape Pachynum. The inhabitants were mainly Greeks, and the island had not been ceded by Carthage in 241. **20. paulo minus**: A. 247, c; H. 417, I, N. 2; G. 311, R. 4. **21.**

**traditur**: a sort of zeugma; *Hamilcar se tradit*; *insula traditur*. **22. reditum**: sc. *est*. **23. praeter . . . viros**: the nobles were reserved for ransom or exchange. **sub corona venierunt**: 'were sold as slaves.' The heads of such prisoners, like those of animals about to be sacrificed, were crowned with garlands. *Veneo* is used as the passive of *vendo*.

**24. ab ea parte**: 'on that side.' **25. insulas Vulcani**: i. e. the Lipari Islands, of which one in particular had this name.

**26. classem**: seventeen of the twenty ships sent to ravage the Italian coast. **27. forte**: they happened to be gone when the consul arrived, though they had not expected his arrival.

**29. urbem**: Vibo or Hippo, on the west coast of Bruttium. **Repetenti Siciliam**: 'on his way back to Sicily,' or else immediately upon his arrival.

**30. escensio**: 'descent,' 'landing.'

**32. primo quoque tempore**: 'as soon as possible;' *quoque* is ablative of *quisque*. Nothing is said of the battle on the Ticinus; presumably this message was sent before it was fought.

**Page 126. 2. Ariminum**: (now Rimini) on the coast of Umbria, or, more properly, of the *Ager Gallicus*, lately connected with Rome by the Flaminian Way. Polybius says that the consul made the troops take an oath to meet him on a certain day at Ariminum, and that they completed the march in forty days from Lilybaeum. The navigation of the Adriatic in winter was dangerous. Taking Livy's account as meaning that the whole army went by sea, we should question whether, after detaching so many ships from his fleet, the consul had enough left to carry the troops. **mari supero**: the Adriatic; the *mare inferum* was the Tuscan Sea. **5. quinquaginta . . . explevit**: 'filled up the number of the fleet to fifty ships.' **6. compositis Siciliae rebus**: 'after taking measures for the defence of Sicily.' **7. oram . . . legens**: a Vergilian phrase; cf. Georg. ii. 44. From this we should suppose he sailed up the eastern coast, but Polybius says he sailed to Rome and went thence by land. **9. conlegae coniungitur**: we hear of no opposition to this junction, which tends to show that Scipio was on the east bank of the Trebia, Hannibal on the west.

CHAP. LII. **10. Iam ambo consules** (sc. *oppositi*), etc.: 'the fact that now both the consuls and the whole Roman forces

were opposed to Hannibal made it quite clear,' etc. **quid-  
quid . . . erat**: this does not mean all possible or even all  
actual forces, but only that the usual consular army was about  
doubled, and that no other large force was immediately avail-  
able. **13. consul alter**: Scipio. **equestri proelio**: the  
battle on the Ticinus. **14. animi minutus**: A. 218, c, R.;  
H. 399, III, 1; G. 374, R. 3. **15. alter**: Sempronius. **fero-  
cior**: 'more headstrong, impetuous.' **18. per ambiguum  
favorem**: 'by a policy that committed them to neither side.'  
**19. spectantes**: 'aiming to secure.' **Id Romani . . . satis**:  
'the Romans were satisfied with this, provided they (the Gauls)  
committed no overt act of hostility.'  
**21. accitum**: cf. p. 102, ll. 20, sqq. **25. cum ad id . . .  
animos**: 'although, up to this time, they had preserved their  
attitude of indecision.' **27. ad vindices futuros**: 'to those  
who (they expected) would be their avengers.' The future par-  
ticiples here expresses an assumption of the Gauls. **29. cul-  
torum**: 'inhabitants.' **32. ut alia vetustate obsolevisent**:  
'supposing other things to have been forgotten in the lapse of  
time.' A. 266, c; H. 515, III.; G. 610. **Boiorum perfidiam**:  
the seizure of the triumvirs (ch. xxv).

**Page 127. 5. trans Trebiam**: i. e. to the west. **6.  
Sparsos**: sc. *Poenos*. **7. invasissent**: i. e. Sempronius'  
troops had attacked the enemy. **8. stationesque**: 'out-  
posts.' **10. sequentes inter cedentesque**: anastrophe of  
the preposition.

CHAP. LIII. **14. iustiorque**: 'more complete.' **15. gau-  
dio offerri**: 'was delighted,' 'beside himself with joy.' **20.  
non . . . senescendum**: 'they must not all grow feeble to  
keep the sick man company;' cf. p. 27, l. 5. **21. differri**:  
A. 338; H. 523, II.; G. 654, R. I. **25. peti**: were the object  
of attack. **28. soliti**: an exaggeration; there had been but  
one invasion of Africa, and that a signal failure. **31. adsi-  
dens aegro conlegae**: 'when he sat by the bedside of his  
sick colleague.' **32. in praetorio**: the open space in front  
of the general's tent is here meant. **prope contionabundus**:  
almost as if he were addressing an assembly of the army.  
Livy is fond of adjectives in *-bundus*, which are rare in clas-  
sical prose. **33. comitiorum**: 'elections.'

**Page 128.** 1. *novos consules* : the inauguration of consuls, March 15th, by the calendar, which was about two months in advance, really fell in January. This confusion was not remedied till the year 46 B. C. 3. *parari* = *se parare*. 8. *peroitum ac ferox* : 'hot-headed and impetuous.' It is curious to observe this same contrast of character repeated in several pairs of consuls, and even in the dictator and *magister equitum* of 217 B. C. 11. *Cuius* : i. e. *certaminis* or *gerendae rei*. 17. *et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet* : 'and desired to force an engagement, if there should be a disposition to avoid it' (on the part of the Romans).

CHAP. LIV. 22. *in medio* : 'between the Punic camp and the river. 24. *equites . . . tegendo* : the dative gerund with a direct object is very rare even in the poets. 27. *centenos* : 100 from the infantry, 100 from the cavalry. 30. *praetorium missum* : 'the council was dismissed.'

**Page 129.** 1. *ex turmis manipulisque* : Roman technical terms; 'from the troops (of horse) and the companies (of foot).' The Roman *turma* was the tenth of the 300 *equites* of the legion; the *maniple*, the thirtieth part of the legion, and its tactical unit, containing at this period about 140 men. 7. *iniecto deinde certamine* : 'and then, when a fight had been brought on.' 8. *citra flumen* : across to the west bank.

13. *ferox* : 'confident.' 14. *ab destinato iam ante consilio* : 'in accordance with his purpose already formed beforehand.' 15. *brumae (brevimae, brevissimae)* : 'the shortest day,' 'the winter solstice.' 16. *nivalis* : the author is fond of adjectives in *-alis*, and introduces many for the first time into prose. 18. *hominibus atque equis* : construe with *inerat* (l. 20). 20. *quidquid* = *quo magis*. 21. *acrior* : translate by adverb. 22. *refugientes* : accusative; *insequentes*, nominative. 24. *tum utique* : 'then certainly' (however it may have been before).

CHAP. LV. 27. *miles* : singular for collective. 28. *ut mollirent* : 'to render . . . supple.' 31. *ante signa* : i. e. as skirmishers in front of the infantry bodies with their standards. Each *maniple* had its standard; the legionary eagles were of later date.

**Page 130. 2. in cornibus** : 'on the wings;' constituting the wings. **3. ab cornibus in utramque partem** : the meaning of this is disputed; some understand, beyond each wing, outside the cavalry, at the extreme ends of the line; others think it means, from the two wings toward the centre, supposing that the elephants were placed as a protection in advance of the wings of the infantry, leaving the centre open.

**6. receptui** : A. 233, *b*, and foot-note; H. 384, II., I, 3); G. 350; Roby, Lat. Gr. 1156. **circumdedit peditibus** : placed them on the flanks of the infantry.

**Duodeviginti milia** : as the legions consisted of 4,000 infantry each (p. 89, l. 28), this would make five legions somewhat diminished by losses. Two legions had been stationed in Cisalpine Gaul at the beginning of the season, and another had been sent under the praetor Atilius (p. 98, l. 27). Sempronius had brought two with him. Two consular armies would ordinarily make four legions. **7. Romana** : instead of *Romanorum*. **socium** : genitive plural; at this time there were 443,000 *socii* and 325,000 Roman citizens of military age. **nominis Latini** : the term is political; the 'Latin name' included all who possessed the *ius Latinum* or *Latii*; vide Morey, Outlines of Roman Law, pp. 49, 50. Of the thirty original towns of the Latin league (*Prisci Latini*), some had lost their independence, some had disappeared, some had received full Roman citizenship. In their places, not in a Latin league, but in relation to Rome, were other towns, many of them the so-called Latin colonies, and many also far beyond the boundaries of Latium.

**8. Cenomanorum** : this tribe lived north of the Po, east of the Insübres, west of the Veneti, about Brixia and Verona. **12. quae res effecit ut . . .** : 'and this movement had the result that . . . ' **15. insuper** : 'besides.' **16. Ad hoc** : 'in addition to this.' **eminentes** : the meaning of this depends somewhat on our understanding of *ab cornibus* (l. 3); if we take the first view it may mean 'extending beyond;' if the second, 'conspicuous.' **20. recentis** : accusative plural. **21. contra** : adverb. **26. simul** : 'as soon as.' **30. Eos** : the elephants. **velites** : strictly speaking this class of troops was not instituted till 211 B. C.; the meaning here is general, 'light-armed troops.' **ad id ipsum** : 'for this very purpose.'

**31. verutis** : darts about four feet long with six-inch iron heads. **avertere** : perfect indicative.

**Page 131.** CHAP. LVI. 1. **Trepidantisque** : i. e. *elephantos*. **prope iam in suos consternatos** : 'just about to turn upon their own men, in their panic,' 'driven in fright upon,' etc. 2. **ad sinistrum** : the Punic left. **adversus Gallos** : elephants were new to the Gauls, while the Romans had known them for two generations. 6. **in orbem** : pregnant construction; after being forced *into* a circle, they fought *in* that order; we say a 'square,' but the idea is the same, to face every way at once against the enemy. 7. **media . . . acie** : local ablative without preposition. 10. **interclusis** : possessive dative; it was impossible in their flight to pick out a fit place to cross; besides, the water may have continued to rise.

11. **Placentiam** : as we have concluded that the battle took place on the west bank, we must suppose that the fugitives crossed again by a bridge close to Placentia. It is clear from this, however, and from ll. 21-24, that Livy thought either that the battle occurred on the east bank or that Placentia was west of the Trebia. 12. **in omnes partes** : 'in all directions.' **eruptiones** : 'attempts to break through,' the enemy being on all sides of them. 14. **inter cunctationem ingrediendi** : 'while they hesitated to enter' the water. 19. **homines** : i. e. in Hannibal's army. 23. **et quod relicum . . . erat** : 'and the remainder of the soldiers, who were in great part wounded.' 24. **sauciorum** : probably those wounded at the battle on the Ticinus; those wounded in this battle could hardly have gotten back to camp across the river. 25. **traicerent** : according to the view we have taken, this must be a mistake; it is very improbable at any rate. **sensere** : i. e. *Poeni*. **obstrepente pluvia** : 'on account of the noise of the rain.' 27. **sentire sese dissimularunt** : 'pretended not to hear.' 29. **Pado traiecto Cremonam** : 'crossed the Po to Cremona,' which was about sixteen miles down the river on the north bank.

**Page 132.** CHAP. LVII. 1. **Romam** : put first to mark the change of scene. 2. **urbem Romanam** : more stately than *Romam*. 7. **quos . . . esse** : cf. note on p. 127, l. 21. 8. **territis** : ablative absolute. 10. **fallendi** : 'of passing unobserved.' This was rather a fool-hardy expedition. A dictator or *interrex* might easily have been appointed to hold the

consular elections. The constitutional rule required that they should not be held by one of lower rank than consul. **14. iterum**, 'for the second time,' applies to Flaminius only, whose first consulship was in 223 B. C. It is not unlikely, as appears from Polybius, that this election was held by Sempromius on his way north before the battle of the Trebia. But Livy mentions the journey twice (cf. p. 88, ll. 22-24). **16. ut quaeque his impeditiora erant**: 'wherever the ground was too rough for them.' **18. clausi . . . erant**: not 'had been cut off,' but were and continued so.

**19. subveherent**: A. 309, *b*; H. 511, 1. **Emporium**: (ἐμπορίον), a trading place, a magazine, a market; Placentia, lying some little distance from the Po, had a port at the bank of the river. **opere magno**: 'strong fortifications.' **20. Eius . . . oppugnandi**: success in this operation would have cut off the supplies of the troops at Placentia. **23. effectum** (sc. *incepti*): 'success.' But Hannibal had no means to prosecute a siege. **spei**: construe with *plurimum*. **25. sub lucem**: 'just before dawn.' **29. praesidium**: not here the garrison, but the 'fortified post' held by it. **31. Victumulas**: cf. p. 119, l. 9, and note. **32. Gallico bello**: A. 259, *a*.

**Page 133. 1. frequentaverant**: 'had settled in large numbers at.' **adcolae**: those who had previously lived in the vicinity. **mixti**: Gauls and Ligurians. **3. fama . . . accensa**: 'fired with emulation by the report of the gallant defence of the fort near Placentia.' **5. Magis agmina quam acies**: 'more of a mob than an army;' literally, 'in marching column rather than battle order.' **8. triginta quinque milia**: doubtless an exaggeration, as the place does not appear to be of very great importance. **14. adeo**: 'for,' 'so true it is that;' thus used, *adeo* introduces a clause containing the ground of a preceding statement. **omne . . . exemplum**: 'every sort.' **15. editum**: 'was practised;' it was contrary to Hannibal's policy to treat any but Romans with severity.

CHAP. LVIII. **17. intolerabilia frigora**: most of the army were natives of warm climates. **19. in Etruriam**: he did not, however, reach Etruria. **21. adiuncturus**: sc. *sibi*. **22. adorta**: transitive, 'assailed.' **23. ferretur**: 'dashed.' **25. vertice intorti adfligebantur**: 'they were caught up by

the hurricane and dashed to the ground.' **constitere**: 'they halted.' 26. **cum** (sc. *ventus*) . . . **sineret**: 'as the blast then stopped their breath and prevented respiration.' 27. **aversi a vento**: 'with their backs to the wind.' 28. **streperere**: 'thundered;' this and the following infinitives are historical. 29. **fragores**: 'crashes,' 'peals.' **micare ignes**: 'the lightning flashed.' **capti auribus et oculis**: 'deafened and blinded;' *capti* means 'deprived of the use of;' cf. p. 144, l. 7. 30. **effuso imbri**: 'when the rain had poured itself out,' 'exhausted itself.' 31. **accensa**: 'aggravated;' a curious metaphor in this case.

**Page 134.** 1. **explicare quicquam**: 'to unfold anything' (in the shape of a tent). 3. **perscindente**: 'tearing to shreds,' a very rare word. 4. **aqua**: 'mist,' 'watery vapor.' 5. **concreta esset**: 'had congealed.' **deiecit**: the subject is *aqua*. 11. **movere ac recipere**: sc. *coeperunt*, from *est coeptus*. 13. **ad alienam . . . tendere**: 'each in his helpless state sought the assistance of others.' **opem . . . inops**: paronomasia. 15. **elephanti . . . septem**: Polybius says only one had survived the battle of the Trebia.

CHAP. LIX. 17. **Degressus**: Polybius makes no mention of this attempt to cross the mountains, and there is a good deal of doubt as to the fact. **ad**: 'near,' to the vicinity of. 18. **ad**: 'about.' This means west of Placentia. Livy seems to crowd too many events and operations into the interval between *dubia signa veris*, p. 133, l. 18, and the actual opening of spring. 20. **redierat**: i. e. after holding the elections. 22. **tria**: 'only three.' **bina**: A. 95, *b*; H. 174, 2, 3). 23. **pugnatum est**: this is probably an exaggerated account of one of the skirmishes that would naturally take place in the then existing circumstances. 25. **vincerent**: sc. *Romani* from *res Romana*. 29. **nona . . . hora**: the middle of the afternoon. 31. **receptui**: cf. note on p. 130, l. 6. 32. **laxatamque**: 'had slackened.'

**Page 135.** 1. **peditum robore**: 'the heavy-armed infantry.' 3. **saeva**: 'bloody.' 5. **diremit**: 'put an end to.' 8. **eius**: i. e. *numeri*. 9. **maior quam pro numero**: 'out of proportion to the mere number.' 11. **praefecti**: among



the *socii*, corresponding to the *tribuni* of the Romans. **13. Lucam**: in Etruria, on a tributary of the Arno, about twelve miles from the sea. This statement has been questioned and causes a good deal of confusion. Sempronius would, it seems, naturally have gone to Placentia; and, from the beginning and end of ch. lxiii., it would appear that he did so.

**16. equestris ordinis**: meaning the eighteen centuries of *equites* established by Servius Tullius (cf. Bk. i. ch. 43), who served *equo publico* without pay, and had the right to wear a gold ring. Later the cavalry provided their own horses, were paid, and wore iron rings, and the *equites equo publico* became an honorary body. **senatorum ferme liberis**: 'mostly sons of senators;' they had equestrian not senatorial rank.

CHAP. LX. **20. in Hispaniam . . . missus**: cf. p. 105, l. 13. **22. Emporias**: a Phocaean (Greek) colony, a few miles south of the Pyrenees; the name is plural because the town was a double one, an Iberian settlement adjoining the Greek one. **23. Laetanis**: inhabitants of the coast southwest of Emporiae, about the modern Barcelona. **24. societatibus**: Emporiae and the Bargusii were already allies of Rome; cf. p. 92, l. 12. **25. dicionis**: A. 214, c; H. 401; G. 365. **26. ad = apud**. **27. mediterraneis quoque ac montanis**: neuter plural. **ferociores iam**: the idea is that the tribes were more savage in proportion to their distance from the coast. **30. auxiliorum**: troops of non-Italian allies; they were not formed into legions. **cohortes**: used in rather a general than technical sense. As previously observed, the Roman legion itself had not at this time been divided into cohorts. **31. cis Hiberum**: north of the Ebro. **eum reliquerat Hannibal**: cf. p. 96, l. 11. **32. ad . . . praesidium**: expresses purpose.

**Page 136. 7. cum praesidio**: 'besides the guard.' **9. principibus**: in view of Polybius' account of this battle, it appears that this word applies to Spanish chiefs fighting on the Punic side. **Cissis**: probably a town of the *Cessetani*, who lived on the coast between the Laetani and the Ebro. **11. rerum fuit**: 'consisted of things,' etc.: *supellex* is appositive to *praeda*, *mancipiorum* to *rerum*. **12. eius . . . exercitus**: limits *omnibus . . . rebus*. **14. ne . . . essent**: 'that their baggage might not be too heavy for them to carry.'

CHAP. LXI. 17. *accideret*: 'arrived.' 19. *mille*: used here as an indeclinable substantive. 20. *perditas res*: 'the disaster.' 22. *Tarracone*: subsequently an important Roman city, capital of the province of Hispania *Tarraconensis*. *milites . . . socios*: cf. note on p. 123, l. 31. 29. *in . . . animadvertisset*: 'had punished.' *praefectos*: 'captains.' 31. *Vixdum . . . aderat*: vividly expresses the swiftness of Hasdrubal's movements. *Ilergētum*: this tribe lay further inland than those just mentioned, and extended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro.

Page 137. 4. *cedit*: i. e. Hasdrubal. 6. *Atanagrum*: position not certainly known. 9. *pecunia*: 'by a fine.' 12. *Lacetanos*: cf. p. 96, l. 9. 13. *urbe*: now Vich. 18. *minus quattuor pedes*: cf. note on p. 125, l. 20. *pluteos*: 'screens;' 19. *vineas*: 'mantlets;' the former chiefly a protection in front, the latter from above; for cuts and description see Judson, *Caesar's Army*, pp. 98, 99. 22. *pacti*: used, like a verb of buying and selling, with an ablative of price. The meaning is, they surrendered after agreeing to pay Scipio twenty talents as the price of their being spared by him. Luterbacher remarks that this would be only about a month's pay for twelve thousand men, not enough to compensate them for the hardships of the siege. *deduntur*: middle force.

CHAP. LXII. 24. *Romae*: cf. note on p. 132, l. 1. *prodigia*: prodigies were regarded as the manifestation of displeasure on the part of the gods. The place and circumstances of their occurrence were important considerations in their interpretation, with regard both to the source whence they came and the persons or communities to whom they were intended to apply. The lore relating to this subject was the province of the college of pontiffs, whose business it was to examine the evidence as to the occurrence of prodigies, interpret their significance, and prescribe the means by which the displeasure of the deities was to be averted. To assist in this matter, they kept a record from year to year of the well attested prodigies, which served subsequently as a list of precedents.

In certain spheres of natural phenomena the (originally Etruscan) *haruspices* were consulted. They were especially skilled in the lore of lightning, and the interpretation of the signs

given by the entrails of animals slain in sacrifice, and of monstrous births. Where the ordinary resources failed, or the omens were especially terrifying, and in times of great public danger, recourse was had to the Sibylline books, which were derived from a Greek source, and to the influence of which was due the gradual introduction of Greek divinities into the Roman Pantheon.

It appears that the state was concerned with such omens only as appeared within the limits of Roman land, and that, too, in the *ager publicus*. What happened on private land concerned the owner personally rather than the commonwealth. At this period there were numerous communities in various parts of Italy, possessing full citizenship, whose territory was part of the *ager Romanus*, and attached to one of the tribes; and also many conquered places belonging to the *ager publicus*.

**25. in religionem**: 'toward fear of the supernatural.' **27. quis**: syncopated form of *quibus*. **ingenuum**: 'born of free parents.' **28. triumphum clamasse**: 'had cried "Io triumphe!"' **foro boario**: the cattle-market lay between the Tiber and the Palatine, the *forum olitorium* (l. 32) was directly north of it, close to the Capitoline but outside the Porta Carmentalis. In the same locality was the *Aedes Spei* (l. 31). **32. Lanuvi**: this town and Rome had common *sacra*, so this omen applied to Rome. **hastam** (*Iunonis*): lances, before the use of images, were the symbols of deities.

**Page 138. 1. in agro Amiternino**: Amiternum was a Sabine town. **3. visos . . . congressos** (*esse*): the subject is thoroughly indefinite — 'beings' or 'apparitions.' **lapidibus pluisse**: cf. note on p. 39, l. 3. **4. Caere**: locative; this ancient city of southern Etruria, called sometimes the "Delphi of Italy," was from early times in friendly relations with Rome. **sortes**: 'oracular tablets;' divination by "lots" was a distinctively Italian institution. Shrinking of the tablets was a sign of impending misfortune.

**Gallia**: i. e. *Cisalpina* **lupum**: merely to see a wolf in an unusual place was ominous. **5. vigili**: A. 229; H. 385, II. 2; G. 344. **6. libros**: i. e. *Sibyllinos*. The *decemviri sacris faciundis* were a permanent commission charged with the care and consultation (when ordered) of these sacred books. **7.**

**novemdiale sacrum**: cf. p. 39, ll. 15-17. **8. subinde** = *deinde*. **operata fuit** = *operam dedit*, hence governs the dative. **9. hostiaeque maiores**: mature animals, as distinguished from young ones, *hostiae lactentes*. It was the business of the pontiffs to say which should be offered in sacrifice. **11. pondo quadraginta**: 'forty pounds;' *pondo*, treated as an indeclinable noun, is an ablative of specification, 'as to weight,' and *libra* in the appropriate number and case is understood with it.

**13. lectisternium**: the first recorded instance of this observance, which seems partly due to Hellenic influence, occurred in 399 B. C. (Livy, Bk. v., ch. 13). A costly banquet was prepared for the gods, whose images or symbols were laid upon couches spread (*lectus, sternere*) for them at the tables. **14. supplicatio**: a kind of processional litany, in which all classes of the people went about to the different shrines to beseech the help of the gods. **Algidus** (sc. *monte*): one of the Alban hills. **15. Iuventati**: this goddess (Hebe), the wife of Hercules, had a chapel in the precincts of the Capitol, having refused to give up her place when the Capitoline temple was built by Tarquin. Cf. p. 66, l. 33, for the part of the legend concerning Terminus, who also refused to depart.

**16. aedem Herculis**: near the Porta Trigemina. **nominationem**: contrasting *ad Aedem Herculis* with *circa omnia pulvinaria*, the special with the general. **17. pulvinaria**: the *supplicationes* were connected with the *lectisternia*, hence the use of *pulvinaria* here, the images of the gods being at the time laid upon them. **Genio** (*populi Romani*): the guardian spirit of the nation, analogous to that of each individual. **18. C. Atilius**: cf. p. 98, l. 27; the consuls were both absent, or this duty would have fallen upon them.

CHAP. LXIII. **23. sorte**: both being obliged to defend Italy, they cast lots for the two armies. **24. edictum et litteras**: hendiadys. **ad consulem**: Sempronius; cf. p. 140, ll. 2-4. **27. tribunus plebis**: in 232 B. C., when tribune, he had carried a law assigning to poor citizens land in Picenum and Umbria. This led to the Gallic war of 225-2 B. C. **28. qui abrogabatur**: conative imperfect; 'which they attempted to annul.' The senate tried to compel him to lay down his consulship, owing to alleged irregularities connected

with his election. A letter to this effect being sent him on the eve of his great victory over the Insubres, in 223 B. C., he refused to read the letter till after the battle.

**29. de triumpho** : after this victory the senate refused him the honor of a triumph, as he was not in their view legally consul; so he triumphed by a vote of the people. **ob novam legem** : probably in 220 B. C., directed against the new spirit of commercial speculation that had sprung up among the aristocracy. **novam** : 'unprecedented,' or perhaps 'recent.' **31. uno patrum** : 'alone of the senators' (not patricians).

**Page 139. 1. trecentarum amphorarum** : *amphora* = one cubic foot, and so was called also *quadrantal*; three hundred *amphorae* = seven and one-half tons, not allowing for the difference between the Roman and English foot. **3. patribus** : construe with *indecorus*. **7. Latinarumque feriarum mora** : 'delay caused by the Latin festival.' The new consuls had always to appoint by proclamation the time for this festival, and to offer in person the sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mountain, before departing from Rome.

**8. consularibus aliis impedimentis** : 'other hindrances applicable to a consul;' the adjective has the force of an objective genitive. **9. simulato itinere** : i. e. on private business. **13. inauspicato** : ablative absolute. **revocantibus ex ipsa acie** : cf. note on p. 138, l. 28. **15. spretorum** : i. e. *deorum*. **Capitolium**, etc. : here follows an enumeration of the formalities attendant upon the consuls' taking office. **solemnem** : 'usual,' sanctioned by custom. **17. senatum**, etc. : the senate held a sitting at once in the Capitoline temple, at which religious matters were discussed and the time for the *feriae Latinae* was fixed, and then one of the consuls delivered a speech *de republica*.

**21. paludatus** : 'after assuming the (red) military cloak,' which was done at the Capitol before going forth to take command of the army. *Paludamentum pallium fuit imperatorium purpura et auro distinctum*. It was, like the axes in the fasces, a sign of the full military *imperium*, which could be exercised only outside the *pomoerium*. **24. solum vertisset** : *solum vertere*, to take up one's abode in another country; Romans could go into voluntary exile, when charged with a capital

crime, and so avoid other punishment. **27. retrahendumque**: yet they seem to have been afraid to use actual force. **28. praesentem**: 'in person.' **34. inmolantique ei**: A. 235; H. 384, II. 4; *inmolare* is to sprinkle the sacred meal (*mola*) on the victim's head. **35. sacrificantium**: the priest's assistants. **proripuisset**: this was a dire omen.

**Page 140. 2. Legionibus . . . duabus**: we suppose they had been all winter at Placentia, and not that they proceeded at this time from Luca to Ariminum and then back to Arretium; cf. note on p. 135, l. 13. **4. Atilio**: doubtless he had been sent to relieve the wounded Scipio. The fifth legion was probably left to defend Cisalpine Gaul. **Apennini tramites**: not the *Via Flaminia*, but mountain passes.

## BOOK XXII.

**Page 141.** CHAP. I. 1. **ver**: the spring of 217 B. C. **hibernis**: Hannibal had spent the winter in the neighborhood of Placentia and, according to Bk. xxi., ch. 59, partly in Liguria. 2. **ante conatus**, etc.: cf. Bk. xxi., ch. 58; there could hardly have been time between the *prima ac dubia signa veris* and the time when *iam ver adpetebat* for so much as the author attempts to include in the interval. 5. **pro eo, ut . . . agerentque**: 'instead of their plundering,' etc.; a somewhat awkward equivalent for the Greek ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγνῆν; *ferre agere* is a more usual expression than the one here used. 7. **hibernis**: the Romans had wintered in Cremona and Placentia; but cf. p. 135, l. 13 and note. **videre**: notice the frequency of this form of perfect. 9. **fraude**: construe with *servatus erat*. 10. **levitate**: construe with *inducantium*. 12. **tegumenta capitis**: wigs of different colors; Polybius mentions this fact. **errore**: 'confusion,' 'uncertainty.' 15. **idibus Martiis**: by the corrected calendar this date would have fallen in January and would not be simultaneous with *iam ver adpetebat*; there is a confusion of the two calendars in the author's mind. 16. **de re publica rettulissent**: cf. note on p. 79, l. 11. 19. **imperium**: in his case no *lex curiata de imperio* had been passed; this had to be proposed by the consul in person to the thirty lictors representing the ancient *curiae*, and though it was a mere formality, yet it was considered as of essential importance, and without it he could not take official auspices. In any event the auspices must be first taken at Rome; after that they could be continued abroad. The formality of the *lex curiata* is one of the best illustrations of the intense conservatism of the Romans. **Magistratus**: accusative plural. 22. **auspicia**: subject of *sequi*. 24. **concupere**: (literally 'to formulate,') 'institute,' 'take.'

**Page 142.** 3. **equiti**: A. 235; H. 384, II. 4, N. 2. 5. **orbem minui**: probably a partial eclipse; the usual verb for an

eclipse is *deficere*. **6. Praeneste**: an allied city in the east of Latium; locative. **lapides** . . . **cecidisse**: i.e. single stones; distinguish from *lapidibus pluere*, for which a *novemdiale sacrum* is always ordered. **7. Arpis**: in Apulia. **8. Capenae**: in southern Etruria. **aquas Caeretes**: the celebrated hot baths of Caere, of which the principal one was the *fons Herculis*. **10. Antii**: on the coast of Latium. **11. Faleriis**: in southern Etruria.

**14. excidisse**: they were kept on a string. **15. signum**: 'statue'; standing in his temple on the Appian Way. **16. luporum**: the wolf was sacred to Mars. **Capuae**: the chief city of Campania and the second in Italy. **18. minoribus** . . . **dictu**: 'less noteworthy.' **21. auctoribusque in curiam introductis**: those who reported prodigies were carefully examined, to test the correctness of their information. **23. maioribus hostiis**: cf. p. 138, l. 9 and note. **26. cordi**: A. 233, a; H. 390; G. 350. **27. carminibus**: the Sibylline oracles were metrical. **28. Iovi** . . . **Iunoni Minervaeque**: the three supreme deities of the Capitol. **pondo**: cf. note on p. 138, l. 11. **34. libertinae**: this corresponds with the enrollment of *libertini* in the legions; *infra*, ch. xi. **35. Feroniae**: a goddess of spring, of flowers and of love; her chief temple was near Mt. Soracte; emancipations took place at her altars, especially in her temple at Tarracina.

**Page 143. 1. Decembri**: of 217 B. C., an anticipation. **2. aedem Saturni**: at the foot of the Capitoline hill, on the side toward the Forum; it was used as the state treasury and record office. **3. senatores**: this was unusual: generally it was done by the *Decemviri* or *Duumviri*. **4. Saturnalia** . . . **clamata**: 'they cried, "Io! Saturnalia!"' This was an ancient Italian festival or carnival, originally celebrated a single day, December 19th; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 5. It survives in the convivial features of our Christmas. Perhaps on the occasion in question Greek rites were connected with it in obedience to the Sibylline books. **5. diem et noctem**: 'one day and one night'; Madvig, Emend. Liv. 487, note 1 (2d ed.).

CHAP. II. **8. dilectu**: dative. A. 68; H. 116; G. 67. Besides the remnants of the last year's army, each consul received two new legions and a contingent of allies. **9. Arro-**



**tium**: an important town and strategic position on the *Via Cassia* in Northern Etruria, now Arezzo. **10. aliud longius . . . iter**: out of several possible routes we can hardly identify any one as intended by Livy. H. might have gone to the west viâ Luna or Lucca to Pisa, or to the east viâ Bononia and Ariminum. Manifestly his object was to beat Flaminius before his junction with Servilius. It is not unlikely that the nearer way which he chose brought him viâ Pistoria into the Arno valley, which, in the vicinity of Faesulae (Fiesole), corresponds somewhat, in the spring, to the description here given. The long time occupied in going so short a distance can be explained only by the extraordinary difficulties of the ground. In any case, it was a route which the enemy did not expect him to take. **14. necubi**: *ne cubi*, not *nec ubi*; cf. *ali-cubi*, etc.

**19. mollis ad talia**: cf. p. 97, l. 31; *pigerrima ad eadem*. **dilaberentur**: 'slip off,' 'desert.' **subsisterent**: 'refuse to proceed.' **cohibentem**: the present participle expressing purpose is unusual. **20. qua modo**: 'wherever,' 'anywhere . . . if only.' **21. profundas**: 'almost bottomless;' there was no bottom but soft mud, so far as they could reach. **hausti**: concessive. **22. inmergentesque se**: 'plunging in.' **23. sustinere se prolapsi**: 'to regain their feet when they slipped.' **27. vigiliae**: 'loss of sleep.' **29. in sicco**: a characteristic phrase, a substantivized adjective with a preposition. **31. sarcinis**: individual packs, distinguished from collective baggage '*impedimenta*.' **32. tantum . . . dabant**: 'afforded a bare resting-place to men who sought merely something that stood above the water.'

**Page 144. 3. intemperie . . . frigoraque**: 'bad weather with its alternations of heat and cold.' **4. quo**: A. 317, 3, *ô*; H. 497, II., 2; G. 545, 2. **6. caelo**: 'atmosphere.' **gravante**: 'affecting.' **7. altero oculo capitur**: 'lost the sight of one eye.'

CHAP. III. **8. foede**: 'ingloriously.' **9. de**: we should expect *ex*. **11. Arreti**: a good position from which to watch Hannibal, who might be expected to march upon Rome by the line of the *Via Cassia*; thence also it was easy to combine forces with his colleague coming from Ariminum. **13. copias ad commeatus expediendos**: 'opportunities for obtaining sup-

plies.' **14. in rem erat**: 'it was to his interest,' 'useful.' **15. in primis . . . fertilis**: 'one of the most fertile.' But Wsb. remarks that the statement does not apply to the country between Fiesole and Arezzo. **16. Faesulas inter Arretiumque**: a curious anastrophe of *inter*. **18. ferox ab consulatu priore**: referring to the year 223 B. C.; cf. note on p. 138, ll. 28, 29.

**19. non modo**: translate as if it were *non modo non*. Roby, Lat. Gr. 2240. **legum . . . maiestatis . . . deorum . . . metuens**: objective genitives for object accusatives with participle of transitive verb; cf. *patiens*, p. 104, l. 29. A. 218, b. **21. prospero . . . successu**: besides military success, Flaminius had in politics been a successful opponent of the nobles; cf. note on p. 138, l. 27; and to his censorship were due the *Via* and *Circus* which bore his name. **bellicisque**: referring to his victory over the Insubres in 223 B. C.

**23. ferociter . . . ac praepropere**, etc.: we should remember that Flaminius has been painted for us by his political enemies. Here Livy's aristocratic bias is evident. We must admit that the consul was outgeneralled in the sequel, but that his intention was so utterly perverse is not clear. The battle of Lake Trasimenus was not of his choosing, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was marching to meet his colleague, as well as following the enemy, when he was so fatally entrapped. It was certainly proper to follow Hannibal, if not strong enough to stop him, when he appeared to be moving toward the capital. It is not his general purpose, but his carelessness in allowing himself to be surprised, that we must condemn. If Flaminius had remained at Arretium, Hannibal might have met and defeated Servilius. Livy's view of Flaminius is a traditional, but hardly a just one. Cf. Capes' Livy, Appendix iii. **24. Quoque: quo que**, two words. **25. laeva relicto hoste**: apparently a blunder of the author, who is never satisfactory in his topography; going toward Faesulae, the Punic army would have Arretium on its right. But why should it go toward Faesulae? It is barely possible that there was another town of this name further south. **31. suum**: 'personal.'

**Page 145. 1. ceteris**: i. e. legates, tribunes, and senior centurions, who would take part in the council of war.

**5. effusa** : 'unrestrained.' **6. signumque** : the signal to march was given with the trumpets; for battle, by raising the red flag (*vexillum*) on the general's tent; this passage may simply mean that, by giving the former, Flaminius was understood as intending to fight at the first opportunity. **7. Immo** : ironical. **12. Camillum ab Veiiis** : in 390 B. C., when the Gauls had possession of the city of Rome, except the Capitol; but Camillus was in exile at Ardea when summoned to assume the dictatorship. **13. simul increpans** : cf. p. 32, l. 15, for same expression. **17. signum** : this was planted in the ground, the staff being sharp at the bottom. **omni vi moliente signifero** : 'though the standard-bearer exerted all his strength.' **18. Num litteras quoque** : to explain the allusion, cf. note on p. 138, l. 28. **22. primoribus** : an unusual word for 'officers.' **24. in vulgus** : 'generally.'

CHAP. IV. **26. inter Cortonam . . . lacum** : the distance is about ten miles, the direction southeast. The lake is now called Lago di Trasimeno or di Perugia; the railway from Cortona to Perugia skirts the northern shore and passes over the battle-field. **29. pervenerant** : sc. *Poeni*. **nata** : suited by nature. **insidiis** : A. 234; H. 391, I.; G. 356. **maxime** = *proxime*.

**30. montes . . . subit** : it is generally supposed that the locality here described is the narrow passage between the lake and Monte Gualandro, near Borghetto, which leads into a valley some four miles long and one and a half broad. Another defile near Passignano is the eastern exit. On the north side of the valley, about the middle of its length, a spur of hills projects, dividing the valley into two distinct parts. Livy's description suits this locality, but that of Polybius does not, without a great deal of explanation, and some have understood him to refer to a region further east, beginning with the pass of Passignano and extending into the broad valley east of Magione in the direction of Perugia; he speaks of the Romans as having hills on both sides of them and the lake in their rear; on this subject *vide* Hesselbarth, Hist. Krit. Untersuch. zur 3ten Dek. des Livius, 694. **Via . . . perangusta** : the defile near Borghetto. **32. inde colles insurgunt** : this may mean the spur of Tuoro, or the mountains at the east of the valley. **33. Ibi** : it is reasonable to suppose that Hannibal placed his camp east of the

Tuoro hill, where it would be visible to the Romans, but not till they were fairly in the valley.

**Page 146.** 2. *post montis*: this again may refer to the same spur of Tuoro, or to the hills surrounding the valley, behind whose crests the light troops could easily be concealed. 3. *ad ipsas fauces*: the western defile, where the enemy would enter the pass. 6. *solis occasu*, etc., and *vixdum satis certaluce*, etc.: these expressions show the haste of the consul in pursuit of the enemy, and help to account for the completeness of his surprise. 7. *inexplorato*: here lay Flaminius' real fault. 9. *pandi*: 'to deploy.' *id tantum hostium*: the Africans and Spaniards (l. 1).

16. *campo . . . montibus*: as in poetry, *in* omitted. 17. *inter se satis conspecta*: 'quite visible to each other;' *conspecta* = *conspicabilia*. 19. *satis*: 'distinctly.' *cerneret . . . instrueretur . . . possent*: A. 327; H. 520; G. 579. 22. *expediri arma*: on the march the shield and helmet were carried, for greater comfort, on the shoulders. The soldiers' kit included, besides, many things that would be in his way when fighting.

CHAP. V. 23. *satis . . . inpavidus*: the author seems obliged, against his will, to acknowledge Flaminius' courage. *ut in re trepida*: 'as far as possible in the panic.' 24. *quoque*: ablative of *quisque*; *quoque vertente* explains *turbatos*. 27. *nec enim . . . votis*, etc.: this remark, tending toward impiety, accords with the usual aristocratic view of Flaminius' character. 28. *vi ac virtute*: the author is fond of alliteration. 30. *ferme*: 'generally.' 32. *tantumque aberat*, etc.: A. 332, *d*; H. 502, 3; G. 556, R. I. *signa*: i.e. their maniples. *ordines*: 'centuries.'

**Page 147.** 1. *competeret animus*: 'they had presence of mind.' *quidam* = *nonnulli*, as is so often the case in Livy. *onerati*: i.e. they were cut down in their marching equipment. 2. *caligine*: akin to *celare*, καλύπτειν. 4. *mixtos . . . clamores*: 'mingled cries of triumph and terror.' *terrentium paventiumque*: active and passive, referring to the Carthaginians and Romans respectively. 6. *globo*: 'solid mass.' 8. *impetus capti*: a phrase often used by the author;

Wsb. distinguishes *impetus capere* from *impetus facere*, as expressing greater effort; tr. 'charges were attempted.'

**12. nova de integro**: a characteristic pleonasm. **13. illa**: 'the usual,' the 'well-known'; A. 102, *b*; H. 450, 4; G. 292, 2. **principes hastatosque**: the order at that time was *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*; the arrangement had ceased to exist before the author's time, and if this expression is meant to be technically precise, he makes a mistake. **14. nec** (sc. *ita ordinata*) **ut**, etc. **antesignani**: men of the front line, usually the *hastati*, whose standards would be placed just behind them. **16. cohorte**: an anachronism; the cohort as a tactical unit dates from the time of Marius, 105 B. C. **17. ante aut post**: sc. *signa*.

**19. eum motum terrae**: Coelius Antipater, in a passage quoted by Cicero (De Div. i. 35), records this earthquake: Ovid gives the date of the battle as June 23, i. e. by the corrected calendar, about the middle of April. **22. senserit**: really an aorist subjunctive.

CHAP. VI. **23. Tris ferme horas**: this detail is mentioned by Coelius. **25. robora virorum**: 'the bravest troops;' abstract for concrete, as in poetry; cf. p. 128, l. 31; the generals had no regular body-guard at this time. **29. Ducario**: cf. note on *Troiano*, p. 3, l. 12. **noscitans**: the frequentative here, as often elsewhere, seems not to differ at all in meaning from the simple verb, which would be more correct. **30. legiones nostras cecidit**: alluding to the campaign of 223 B. C. **31. urbem**: we do not know what town is meant; Mediolanum (Milan), the Isubrian capital, was captured in 222 B. C., but not by Flaminius.

**32. hanc victimam** = *hunc pro victima*; *victima* is perhaps akin to *vitta*. **peremptorum foede**: in 223 B. C. Flaminius, being in a dangerous position, made a capitulation and was allowed to depart; then securing the help of the Cenomani, he returned and defeated the Insubres. This may explain the significance of *foede*.

**Page 148. 1. armigero**: a rather poetic word. **2. infesto venienti**: 'to his charge.' **3. triarii**: the men of the third line, the tried veterans. For the three legionary systems (the phalanx, the maniples, the cohorts) *vide* Mommsen, i. 98, 453,

iii. 200, and Livy, Bk. viii., ch. 8. 6. *evadunt*: conative; 'tried to escape.' 7. *pars . . . progressi*: cf. note on *pars magna nantes*, p. 100, l. 22.

9. *quoad . . . possunt*: 'till they could keep only heads or shoulders above water.' 11. *quae*: i. e. *fuga*. *immensa ac sine spe*: 'endless and hopeless;' the lake is about ten miles long and eight wide, and the author does not seem to know of the islands near the north end. 12. *deficientibus animis*: 'when their courage failed.' 15. *Sex milia*, etc.: these could escape the more easily as they were apparently opposed by the light troops only. 17. *ex saltu*: doubtless the defile of Passignano is here meant. *tumulo quodam*: possibly the hill where Magione stands. 21. *incalescente . . . diem*: 'the dispersion of the mist by the increasing heat of the sun had cleared the atmosphere.'

22. *perditas res*: 'that the day was lost.' 27. *Maharbale*: leader of Hannibal's cavalry. 30. *Punica religione servata fides*: the usual sneer at Punic honor; to us it seems as reliable as Roman honor; and there are numberless instances where the Romans refused to ratify the terms of capitulation granted to or accepted by their generals, on the ground that they had exceeded their powers.

CHAP. VII. 32. *nobilis*: 'famous.' 33. *memorata = memorabilis*. *Quindecim milia*: other authorities make the losses in killed and prisoners considerably larger. Polybius makes the prisoners number fifteen thousand, and the Carthaginian loss smaller. At all events the army was virtually annihilated.

**Page 149.** 4. *Multiplex*: 'far greater;' literally 'many times as great.' 6. *auctum ex vano*: 'groundless exaggeration.' 7. *Fabium*: Fabius Pictor, *vide* Introduction, p. viii. *aequalem temporibus*: 'contemporary;' *temporibus* is dative. 9. *Latini nominis*: Hannibal consistently pursues the policy of discrimination in the treatment of captives, in the hope of alienating the allies of Rome. 12. *Flamini . . . corpus . . . non invenit*: doubtless the consul's political enemies regarded his deprivation of burial rites as a merited judgment of heaven. This conduct of Hannibal does not evince "*inhumana crudelitas*" (p. 77, l. 15).

**16. repens**: construe as an adverb with *adlata*. **18. frequentis contionis modo**: 'like a crowded assembly;' a *contio* was a meeting of the *populus*, but not in its legislative or elective capacity. **comitium**: the northeast portion of the forum, in front of the senate house, the place where magistrates usually addressed the people. **20. M. Pomponius praetor (peregrinus)**: we should expect M. Aemilius, *praetor urbanus*, to appear on this occasion; the city praetor took precedence of the others, and we know that all four praetors were then at Rome.

**30. deinceps**: equivalent to an adjective, attributive to *dies*, 'following.' **33. circumfundebanturque**: 'and crowded around.' **34. utique**: 'especially.' **36. cerneret**: A. 311, a, N. 2; H. 485, N. 1; G. 252. **gratulantisque aut consolantis**: accusative.

**Page 150. 2. porta**: of the city. **6. praetores**: because there was no consul in the city. **ab orto . . . solem**: the senate could not pass resolutions after sunset.

CHAP. VIII. **10. quattuor milia equitum**: the vanguard of the army of Servilius, who was advancing to join Flaminius. **11. propraetore**: he had not been a praetor in 218 B. C., but had praetorian rank as a *legatus* of the consul. **13. averterant iter**: 'had turned back.' **circumventa**: 'cut off;' Hannibal's light cavalry could easily do this, as the Roman horses were doubtless tired after a forced march. **20. rerum magnitudine**: 'its real importance.' **21. quod adgravaret**: 'which placed any additional strain upon them.'

**22. remedium iam diu neque desideratum**: the last dictator *rei gerendae causa* had been A. Atilius Calatinus, in 249 B. C., after the overwhelming defeat of P. Claudius Pulcher off Drepanum, in the first Punic war. Dictators for formal purposes were frequent. Fabius himself had been dictator, *comitiorum habendorum causa*, in 221 B. C. **23. dicendum**: according to precedent, the senate, as the ordinary executive council, determined when it was necessary to name a dictator. One of the consuls then ascended at dead of night to the Capitol, took the auspices, and named the dictator, whose authority then superseded that of the ordinary magistrates for not more than six months. This was tantamount to a proclamation of

martial law. The dictator named his own subordinate colleague, the *magister equitum*, the special significance of whose title had long since become obsolete, and who served in general as second in command. **27. dictatorem populus creavit:** in the *comitia centuriata*; the unusual nature of the crisis justified this unprecedented proceeding even in the eyes of the conservative Romans, though some authorities explain that Fabius was only a pro-dictator.

**28. Q. Fabium Maximum:** he earned the surname *Cunctator* by his cautious tactics in the ensuing campaign; cf. p. 90, l. 13, where he appears as chief of the embassy which declared war at Carthage. **29. M. Minucium Rufum:** consul in 221 B. C.; he represents the popular, Fabius the aristocratic party.

**32. fluminum:** especially the Tiber and Anio.

**Page 151. CHAP. IX. 1. recto itinere:** i. e. straight toward Rome, the most direct route being viâ Spoletium in Umbria, sixty miles southeast of the field of battle. **4. coloniae:** it had been a "Latin" colony since 240 B. C. **haud nimis prospere:** 'without success;' litotes. **5. quanta moles,** etc.: 'how difficult it would have been to take the city of Rome;' but Hannibal, destitute of siege artillery and without allies in central Italy, could not have thought seriously of attacking Rome.

**8. Ibi:** from this point he sent news of his victory to Carthage. **9. stativa:** it was on this occasion that he supplied his African infantry with arms taken from the slain and captured Romans. **11. levi aut facili:** the former refers to wounds and losses, the latter to the exertion needed in the fight.

**13. Praetutianum:** in the south of Picenum, the modern Abruzzi.

**Hadrianum:** Hadria, or Hatria, was a colony founded 289 B. C., on the Adriatic coast of this district, just after the third Samnite war, when Rome was establishing her supremacy all over Italy.

**14. Marsos,** etc.: these nations, Osco-Sabellians, lived further south; notice that there are no names for their districts.

**15. Arpos:** in the north of Apulia. **Luceriam:** a "Latin" colony since 314 B. C., founded to keep the Samnites in check in that direction. **16. Gallis:** they were trying to shake off the Roman yoke.



**22. vocato senatu, ab dis orsus**; this is analogous to the usual procedure of a consul immediately after his inauguration. On such occasions matters of religion were always discussed first. **23. caerimoniarum**: the ancients derived this word from *Caere* in Etruria; Pott connects it with *cura*, Corssen with *sin-cēr-us*. **24. inscitia**: military 'incompetence.' **27. taetra**: for ordinary cases the consultation of the pontifical books or the advice of the haruspices was deemed sufficient. **29. fatalibus**: 'of fate,' 'fateful,' not 'fatal.' **causa**: ablative. **30. foret = esset**. **31. ludos magnos**: called also *ludi Romani*, annual games supposed to have been instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, held in the Circus Maximus, in honor of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; cf. Bk. i. ch. 35.

**32. Veneri Erucinae**: there was at Eryx, at the western extremity of Sicily, an ancient and much venerated temple of the Phoenician Astarte. She was identified with Aphrodite or Venus, the mother of Aeneas, and so had a peculiar interest for the Romans. **33. ver sacrum**: an ancient Italian custom of vowing to the gods all that should be born in a given spring from March 1st to May 1st. In the earliest times the human offspring was included in the vow, and, when human sacrifice was no longer practised, was sent forth at maturity from the fatherland to find a new home. Much of the colonization of the Sabellian nations was thus brought about. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.* 104, *et passim*. The vow here mentioned does not include human beings.

**Page 152. 4. pontificum**: cf. note on p. 25, l. 20; since 300 B. C. the college of pontiffs had consisted of eight members.

CHAP. X. **11. quinquennium**: yet it was not till 195 B. C. that the vow was performed (Livy, Bk. xxxiii., ch. 44). **13. duellis**: archaic for *bellis*; cf. *duonus = bonus*, *duis = bis*, etc. **15. duit = det**; A. 128, *e*, 2; H. 240, 3; G. 191, 3. **17. profana**: 'not (already) consecrated.' **feri**: be offered in sacrifice. **19. lege = ritu**. **faxit**: future perfect, etymologically perhaps aorist, analogous to the  $\sigma$  aorists in Greek; A. 128, *e*, 3; H. 240, 4; G. 191, 5. **20. profanum**: 'considered as unconsecrated.' **21. neque scelus esto**: 'the owner shall be guiltless.' **rumpet = corrumpet**: 'shall wound.' **22. ne**

**fraus esto** : i. e. no responsibility on the part of the owner to replace the stolen beast. **clepsit** : future perfect, like *faxit*, above. **23. cui** : 'from whom.' A. 229; H. 385, II. 2. **atro die** : 'on a day of ill omen.' **faxit** : 'if the owner offer in sacrifice.' **25. antidea** = *antea*; *antid* is archaic for *ante*, the *d* being the old ablative termination; *antidea ac* = *ante quam*. **26. faxitur** = *factum erit*.

**28. aeris** : i. e. *assium*; the odd numbers were supposed to be favored by the celestial, the even by the infernal gods, and with the Latins three and its multiples had a specially sacred character. The old libral *as* of 10 (nominally 12) *unciae* was retained in religious reckoning. For civil purposes the *as* was reduced in 269 B. C. to 4 *unciae*, and in 217 B. C. to 1 *uncia*. **31. edicta** : ordered by proclamation of the praetor; cf. II. 2-5, *supra*. **33. quos . . . cura** : 'who, as they had some property of their own, were also concerned for the public welfare;' they had 'a stake in the country.'

**Page 153. 2. decemviris sacrorum** : identical with the keepers of the Sibylline books. **3. Iovi ac Iunoni**, etc. : these are the twelve supreme deities of the Hellenic Olympus, whose introduction into the Roman pantheon was doubtless due to the Sibylline books, which were of Greek origin. These deities were more or less identified with the Italian ones, under whose names they appear, though often originally very different conceptions; e. g. the resemblance of Mars and Ares is a very superficial one. **unum** : sc. *pulvinar stratum*.

CHAP. XI. **11. deque re publica . . . rettulit** : 'opened a discussion of the condition of the state;' cf. p. 79, l. 11, and note. **14. acciperet; scriberet** : the subject is *dictator*; *scriberet* = *conscriberet*; one of Livy's poetic tendencies is to use simple verbs for compounds. **17. e re publica** : 'for the advantage of the state.' **19. Tibur** : sixteen miles north-east of Rome, now Tivoli. **20. castella** : small towns or villages; many of them occupied positions of natural strength.

**21. innumita** : *in* is negative. **uti** : simply a repetition of *ut* for greater perspicuity. **24. via Flaminia** : built by Flaminius, when censor, in 220 B. C. It led from Rome to Ariminum. **25. exercituque** : dative. **26. circa** : 'near.' **Oriculum** : on the upper Tiber, the first Umbrian town on

the *Via Flaminia*. **27. viatorem** : a general term for all the attendants of a magistrate, but specially the messengers, in distinction from other attendants. **28. sine lictoribus** : he was to give up the insignia of authority in the presence of his superior; a consul had twelve lictors, a dictator twenty-four, a praetor six. **30. speciem** : 'prestige.'

**Page 154. 2. portum Cosanum** : an important naval station on the coast of Etruria. **3. ad urbem** : 'in the neighborhood of the city,' i. e. in the dockyards near the *Porta Trigemina*. **5. navalibus sociis** : cf. note on p. 123, l. 31. **7. libertini** : then, as well as for more than a century later, military service was a duty, and, in theory at least, a privilege of free-born citizens only. **aetas militaris** : normally from seventeen to forty-six. **8. in verba** : the oath was dictated to them by a military tribune, and they repeated it after him. **urbano** : the freedmen, no matter where they lived, were confined to the four city tribes, which were therefore regarded rather contemptuously. **10. alii = ceteri**.

CHAP. XII. **14. transversis limitibus** : 'cross-roads,' not paved like the great "*Viae*." **viam Latinam** : this highway ran southeast from Rome viâ Casinum and Teanum Sidicinum, and joined the Appian Way near Capua; a branch of it led to Beneventum. **16. cogeret** : subjunctive because the relative is indefinite. **22. Martios** : alluding to the Roman claim of descent from Mars. **debellatumque** : 'and that the war was finished.' **23. concessum** : 'that they yielded the palm.' **25. Flamini** : A. 234, *d*; H. 391, II., 4; G. 356, R. I; Roby, Lat. Gr. 1317. **26. futura sibi res esset** : 'he would have to deal.' **27. parem Hannibali** : no Roman general was comparable to Hannibal, but it was the fashion of the aristocratic annalists to enhance the negative services of Fabius, whose prudence may have been partly due to incompetence and timidity. **33. si . . . posset** : 'to see if he could;' A. 334, *f*; H. 529, II., I, N. I; G. 462, 2.

**Page 155. 2. omitteret eum** : 'let him out of his sight.' **5. statio** : 'outpost.' **8. neque . . . committebatur** : 'the result of the campaign was not staked upon a general engagement.' **9. parva momenta levium certaminum** : 'petty and trifling

encounters.' **10. receptu** : 'retreat,' 'place of refuge,' doubtless their camp. **11. militem** : singular for collective : 'the soldiery.' **minus . . . paenitere** : 'to be less hopeless,' literally 'dissatisfied;' this verb, not in a finite mood, is often used personally. **13. habebat** : 'he found.' **14. qui nihil aliud . . . morae** : 'whom nothing but the fact of his subordinate authority prevented from,' etc.; Livy's aristocratic bias renders him somewhat unjust to Minucius, as before to Sempronius and afterward to Varro. **17. propalam in vulgus** : 'openly, so that everybody might hear him.' **19. premendo** : 'by disparaging,' = *deprimendo*.

CHAP. XIII. **22. ex Hirpinis** : a nearly direct line from Luceria to Beneventum, runs southwest viâ Aecae, over the Apennines, and through the country of the Hirpini. The distance is about fifty miles. The Hirpini were a Sabellian nation, led from their original home by a wolf (*hirpus*). They had been included in the Samnite league, but that existed no longer. Samnium, here used in a narrow sense, means the land of the Caudini. Telesia was fifteen to eighteen miles northwest of Beneventum. The latter was the name substituted for Maleventum, when the Romans planted a colony there in 268 B. C. **32. res maior quam auctores esset** : 'the enterprise was too important to be undertaken upon their sole guaranty.' **33. alterisque** : sc. *vicibus*.

**Page 156. 4. duci** : 'the guide.' **in agrum Casinatem** : it is hard to see why he should have taken the route viâ Casinum, when he was aiming at Capua. Polybius makes no mention of the misunderstanding, and the story is suspicious. Casinum is about forty miles northwest; Capua about fifteen miles southwest; Callifae and Allifae about nine and twelve respectively northwest of Telesia. Casilinum was three or four miles north of Capua, on the Volturnus, and Cales four or five miles north of Casilinum. The *campus* or *ager Stellas* was north of the Volturnus and west of the *Via Appia*.

**5. eum saltum** : the pass into the valley of the Liris. **6. exitum** : from Samnium or Apulia; but the *Via Appia*, the most direct road from Rome to Capua remained open. **8. ut acciperet, fecit** : 'caused him to understand.' **12. ubi terrarum** : A. 216, a, 4; H. 397, 4; G. 371, R. 4. **13. mansurum** :

'would lodge;' 'spend the night.' **17. agrum Falernum**: north of the *ager Stellas*; famous for producing the best wine in Italy. **18. aquas Sinuessanas**: these famous baths still exist, now called I Bagni, near Mondragone.

**22. iusto . . . imperio**: this was substantially true of most of Rome's dependencies at this period, before the era of foreign conquest and its consequent corruption. Yet Capua was treated with exceptional severity, and was anxious to throw off the Roman yoke.

CHAP. XIV. **26. Massici montis**: on the border of Latium and Campania; hence came the famous Massic wine. **29. celerius solito**: Fabius' real object, as appears later, was to shut the enemy in the Capuan plain by seizing the passes. **32. colonorumque Sinuessae**: a colony and fortress had been planted here in 296 B. C., at the time of the third Samnite war. **33. Spectatum**: supine; *ut ad rem fruendam oculis*, is a sort of appositive to it, both expressing purpose.

**Page 157. 3. ne . . . pudet**: 'are we not ashamed before these fellow-citizens?' *Pudet* takes a causal genitive; *civium*, however, expresses the occasion rather than the cause of their shame. **8. pro**: interjection. **9. nuper**: though the period referred to was more than a generation previous, the word marks the rapidity of their degeneration. **10. dedecus imperii**: Philinus says that before the first Punic war the Carthaginians were excluded by treaty from the Italian waters, and such seems to have been the popular belief, though it is now known to have been erroneous. **12. modo**: more recently than *nuper*. **19. aestivos saltus**: mountain pastures used in summer.

**21. M. Furius (Camillus)**: he is said to have delivered Rome, when dictator, from the Gallic invaders of 390 B. C. (Livy, Bk. v. ch. 48.) **22. unicus**: 'unequalled,' 'admirable;' sarcastic. **28. Veios allatum**: incorrect, for Camillus was in exile at Ardea when summoned to assume the dictatorship. **Ianiculum**: the highest hill at Rome, but on the north bank of the Tiber, and so on the road from Veii. **29. in aecum**: 'to the plain.'

**31. Busta Gallica**: the 'tombs of the Gauls,' so called because many Gauls were said to have died of a plague, and

their bodies to have been burned there, during the siege of the Capitol, after the burning of the city. **33. Furculas Caudinas** : here in 321 B. C., during the second Samnite war, a Roman army, marching to relieve Luceria, was surrounded and

made to pass under the yoke. **34. L. Papirius Cursor** : gained great success in the same war, and captured Luceria in 320 B. C.

**35. perlustrando** : 'by traversing;' processions formed an important part of the ritual of the *lustrum*, and the word was readily transferred to general use.

**Page 158. 1. Modo** : twenty-four years before; another allusion to the battle of the Aegates Islands in 241 B. C. **6. debellari posse** : 'that the war could be finished.' **9. velut contionanti** : cf. p. 127, l. 32. **13. haud dubie ferebant** : 'they declared plainly.'

CHAP. XV. **15. pariter** : tautological, unless it be taken in temporal sense, = *simul*. **20. summa ope** : modifies *petiti*. **22. praesentis . . . copiae** : it was a region of fruit rather than of grain, and besides it had just been laid waste. **non perpetuae** : this was not the only reason why Hannibal should prefer to winter elsewhere; he had possession of no cities, and the Romans occupied strong positions on the hills near by. On the broad open plains of Apulia, in a fertile region, he would be master of the situation. **23. arbusta . . . consita**, etc. : a loose construction; the meaning is *regio . . . consita arbustis vineisque et omnibus*, etc.

**25. easdem angustias** : yet Hannibal is represented as having come into the *campus Stellas* from Allifae, through the territory of Cales, i. e. apparently to the west of the hills between Cales and Casilinum, and now Fabius guards a position to the east of the same hills to keep him from going back. **26. Calliculam montem** : somewhere in the range of hills extending from Cales to the Volturnus; the pass over the mountain is intended here rather than the mountain itself. **27. Casilinum** : this fortress on the Volturnus, at the junction of the Appian and Latin Ways, blocked Hannibal's march by a southerly route. **28. dirempta** : i. e. the river flows through the town. **Campano** : in the narrower sense, 'Capuan,' for the *ager Falernus* was part of Campania. **29. reducit** : the most

natural and obvious thing for Fabius to do was to block the passage between Cales and Teanum Sidicinum.

**Page 159.** 1. *occupatus*: 'carried away.' 2. *excideruntque*: sc. *animo*; 'were forgotten.' 7. *Carthalo*: cf. p. 195, l. 8, and p. 204, l. 14. *equestris*: adjective for objective genitive. 13. *omni parte virium*: a rather inaccurate phrase, as they had cavalry only on both sides, unless we understand it as meaning 'in all respects.' 18. *saltum*: the defile of Lautulae on the Appian Way in Southern Latium. *Tarracinam*: on the Volscian coast, originally called Anxur. 20. *Appiae (viae) limite*: 'by the line of the Appian Way.' *agrum Romanum*: the territory of the thirty-five tribes of *cives Romani*. 22. *in viam*: apparently the road over the *Callicula mons*. 23. *Duo inde milia*: an unusually short distance.

CHAP. XVI. 24. *bina*: A. 95, *b*; H. 174, 2, 3); G. 95, R. 2. 28. *Carptim*: 'at different points,' or 'repeatedly,' or 'in detachments;' it is difficult to say which of these meanings is the one intended; we have noticed Livy's fondness for adverbs of this form. 31. *ab Romanis*: 'on the side of the Romans.' 32. *Inclusus*: Polybius speaks only of an attempt to surprise Hannibal at one pass. A complete blockade of the district, such as seems here indicated, would apparently require more troops than Fabius had. *via ad Casilinum obsessa*: 'the road (to the south) being blocked at Casilinum.' 33. *tantum . . . sociorum* = *tot socii*. 34. *ab tergo . . . sociorum*: 'allies in their rear,' i. e. the Latins.

**Page 160.** 1. *Formiana*: *Formiae* was on the Appian Way, on the coast, a little north of the Liris. *Literni*: on the coast near Cumae, the scene of the voluntary exile of Scipio Africanus in 185 B. C. 2. *silvas*: the *silva Gallinaria* near Cumae, infested in the author's time by brigands. 5. *necubi*: *ne-cubi*, final conjunction. 6. *ludibrium*: 'illusion.' 11. *domitos*: 'broken' to the yoke. 13. *effecta*: 'raised,' 'collected.' *Hasdrubalique*: chief of the engineers or workmen, as Polybius tells us. 15. *si posset*: of course it was difficult to drive the oxen with any precision. The whole story is not very probable. *super saltus*: not along the pass, but so as to make the Romans think their flank had been turned.

CHAP. XVII. 20. *in adversos . . . montis*: 'up the mountains.' 22. *ad vivom*: 'to the quick.' *ad vivom ad imaque cornua*: hendiadys. 23. *repente*: equivalent to an adjective, attributive to *discursu*; this is one of the Grecisms characteristic of the Latin of the silver age. 24. *haud secus quam . . . accensis*: 'as if (purposely) set on fire.' 29. *praesidio*: 'station,' 'post.' 33. *flammas spirantium*: the substantive is properly omitted, for the soldiers did not know what the creatures were.

Page 161. 3. *Levi . . . armaturae*: characteristic use of abstract for concrete. 4. *incurrere*: 'met,' 'encountered,' not 'attacked;'; this verb is usually construed with *in* and the accusative. 5. *neutros . . . tenuit*: a very awkward sentence; 'kept both sides from beginning a fight before morning.' 6. *Hannibal*: for similar instances of a nominative inserted into an ablative absolute, cf. p. 11, l. 2, and p. 104, l. 21.

CHAP. XVIII. 12. *ab suis*: 'from their comrades.' 16. *concursandum*: 'skirmishing.' 18. *statariumque*: i. e. used to fighting only in a regular formation. 24. *Romam se petere simulans*: Hannibal always strove by rapid movements to perplex and alarm the enemy. 25. *Paelignos*: almost directly east from Rome; their chief town was Corfinium. 27. *absistens*: 'avoiding.' 28. *Gereonium*: a town of the Frentani near the frontier of Samnium and Apulia. 30. *Larinate agro*: Larinum was about fifteen miles north of Gereonium.

Page 162. 1. *confidat . . . imitetur*: strictly according to the rule of sequence we should expect secondary tenses after *agens*, which depends on *revocatus (est)*. 3. *ludificationem*: 'baffling.' 7. *haec . . . praemonito*: *haec* is cognate accusative retained with the passive verb. A. 238, *δ*; H. 371, II.; G. 331, R. 2.

CHAP. XIX. The narrative broken off at the end of Bk. xxi., ch. 61, is here resumed. It will be remembered that Cn. Scipio had invaded Spain in the previous year and gained considerable successes. 11. *Hasdrubal*: the elder of Hannibal's brothers. *quem . . . acceperat*: he had received fifty-seven ships, of which thirty-seven were equipped for use;



cf. p. 95, ll. 15-18. **14. Carthagine (Nova):** the modern Carthagera. **15. quacumque** = *utracumque*, i. e. by land or by sea. **16. occurrisset:** A. 316; H. 507, III. 2.

**17. idem consilii:** subject of *fuit*, = *idem consilium*. His purpose was *configere quacumque parte*, etc. **18. minus:** mildly for *non*. **ingentem:** usually explained as agreeing by hypallage with *famam* instead of *sociorum*. **19. ad naves:** construe with *delecto*; 'for ship-service.' **21. Altero . . . die:** 'on the day after leaving.' **Tarracone:** on the coast, about forty-five miles north of the Ebro. **23. Massiliensium:** cf. p. 93, ll. 15, 16, and note. **speculatoriae:** light, swift vessels, without beaks, used for reconnoitring.

**Page 163. 11. resolutis oris:** casting off their moorings; *orae* were cables from the sterns to the shore, = *retinacula*; the cables from the bows to the anchors were *anchoralia*. **in anchoras evehuntur:** 'drifted out to their anchors' (intending to raise them). **16. derexerat:** 'had drawn up in line.' **19. adversi amnis os:** 'the mouth of the river as they moved up stream.'

CHAP. XX. **Page 164. 1. Onusam:** cf. note on p. 95, l. 20. **5. Longunticam:** its position is not known, but by reason of the *vis magna sparti* it is supposed to have been near New Carthage. **6. sparti:** 'Spanish broom,' used to make ropes and cables. **9. praelecta est ora:** 'they coasted along the shore.' **in Ebusum:** the largest of the Pityusae Islands, now Iviza, and counted as one of the Balearic group. **10. Ibi urbe:** the town also was called Ebusus. **11. nequiquam:** 'without result.' **12. frustra:** 'with vain efforts.'

**17. citeriora:** i. e. north of the Ebro. **provinciae:** Spain had not yet become a Roman province. **20. facti sint:** subjunctive because the antecedent of *qui* is meant to be indefinite; the relative clause is characteristic. **21. populi:** 'communities.' **23. saltum Castulonensem:** the eastern part of the Sierra Morena, or the 'pass of Castulo' leading over the range near the city of that name, which was the capital of the Oretani, and so Carthaginian in sympathy "*ut uxor inde Hannibali esset.*" The distance from the Ebro is so great

that the story here told is improbable. **24. Lusitaniam:** corresponding substantially with the modern Portugal.

CHAP. XXI. **26. per Poenum hostem:** 'as far as the Carthaginian enemy was concerned,' 'if it had depended only upon the Carthaginian enemy.' **27. avidaque:** this adjective usually takes the genitive. **28. Mandonius:** brother-in-law of Indibilis. **qui** refers to Indibilis only. **29. Ilergetum:** between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; cf. p. 95, l. 10, and note. **ab saltu:** sc. *Castulonensi*. **33. auxiliis:** probably Spanish.

**Page 165.** **3. cis:** from his point of view, i. e. to the south side. **5. Ilergavonensium:** south of the Ebro along the coast. **Novam Classem:** perhaps between Ilerda and Tarraco, but not certainly identified. **6. Celtiberi:** the great central nation of the peninsula.

CHAP. XXII. **14. P. Scipio:** the consul of the year before, who had been wounded at the Ticinus. **15. prorogato . . . imperio:** he was now a proconsul. **18. ingens:** 'swelled.' **19. portum Tarraconis:** it was only an insecure roadstead; Emporiae was the usual port of the Romans in this quarter. **tenuit:** 'reached.' **21. communi animo:** this is a contrast to the usual dissensions of the consuls. **23. nec ullo viso = et nullo viso.** **24. Saguntum:** this city had not been destroyed after its capture by Hannibal. **27. omnium:** a decided exaggeration. **28. liberum:** genitive. **30. Sagunti:** locative.

**Page 166.** **2. unum . . . corpus:** 'a single ordinary and insignificant individual.' **3. id agebat:** 'his purpose was.' **5. potestatis eius poterat facere:** 'could put into his power;' this is a statement of fact, not a report of the thought of Abelux, hence the verb is indicative. **8. Bostaris:** the name means 'servant of Astarte;' Livy thinks of him as the governor (*praefectus*) of Saguntum. **10. in ipso litore:** the town was a mile from the shore (p. 80, l. 1). **12. in secretum:** 'aside;' cf. p. 49, l. 9. **15. cis:** i. e. south. **16. novas . . . res:** 'a change of masters.' **19. subitum tantae rei donum:** 'a gift that would be all at once so effectual.' **21. nomen:** 'position,' 'influence.' **22. Volt . . . credi . . . fidem:** 'every one likes to be trusted, and trust reposed usually begets

a return of confidence.' 25. *opera . . . inpensa* : 'by the pains which I shall take.' 27. *ad* : 'in comparison with.' 28. *nocte clam* : cf. *luce palam*, p. 168, l. 31. 31. *fide* : 'assurance of good faith.'

**Page 167.** 3. *per eundem ordinem* = *eodem ordine*, which would be a more natural and usual expression. 5. *Romanorum* : objective genitive with *gratia*. 6. *futura . . . fuerat* : future from a past standpoint. Roby, Lat. Gr. 1494. *Illos* : the Carthaginians; though the last mentioned, they are the more remote in the writer's thought. 7. *gravis* : 'oppressive.' *expertos* : passive. 12. *spectare* : 'were preparing for.'

CHAP. XXIII. 15. *secunda aestate* : 217 B. C. 17. *cunctatio* : Ennius, quoted by Cicero (De Senec. iv. 10), says, "*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*;" and cf. also Verg. Aen. vi. 846. 18. *sollicitum . . . habebat* : 'kept in a state of anxiety.' 19. *eum* = *talem*. *militiae magistrum* : the early title of a dictator was *populi magister*; corresponding to *equitum magister*. 20. *ratione* : 'by system.' 22. *laeto verius . . . quam prospero* : 'gratifying rather than fortunate;' i. e. pleasing at the time, but leading to sad results by inspiring over-confidence.

29. *ea* : attracted from *id* to gender of the predicate, *merces*. *altera* : correlative to *una* (l. 25), both being in apposition to *duae res* (l. 24). *primo* : adverb. *forsitan* : generally used with a verb in the subjunctive mood. Madvig, Lat. Gr. 350, *b*, Obs. 3; Roby, Lat. Gr. 1766-7; A. 311, *a*, N. 3; H. p. 267, footnote 1. 30. *dubio* : 'questionable;' agrees with *facto*, as does also *verso* (l. 32). *non expectata . . . auctoritas* : 'he did not wait for the sanction of the senate.' 33. *convenerat* : 'it had been agreed.'

**Page 168.** 2. *argenti . . . selibras* : 2½ pounds of silver; the pound contained 84 *denarii* (about 6 to a dollar); 2½ pounds = 210 *denarii*, about \$35. *in militem* : 'for each soldier.' 4. *argentumque . . . tardius erogaretur* : 'there was delay in voting the money;' because the senate was offended at Fabius' neglect to consult it in advance. 7. *agrum* : he had a small estate of about four acres between Rome and

Gabii. 9. *captae*: cf. p. 161, ll. 27-30; such inconsistencies of detail are very frequent in Livy, to whom they seem to have been a matter of indifference. They are due to his system of following first one authority and then another, without careful comparison. 14. *necunde*: *ne cunde*, 'lest from any point.'

CHAP. XXIV. 15. *Larinati*: cf. note on p. 161, l. 30. 19. *pro*: 'in accordance with.' 20. *calidiora*: 'more rash.' 23. *ferocius quam consultius*: 'with more impetuosity than discretion.' A. 192, H. 444, 2; G. 314. 25. *tertiam partem*: Hannibal sent large numbers to forage, because he was anxious to lay in large supplies at Gereonium before the Romans interfered with his movements. 28. *conspectum*: 'visible.' *sciret*: sc. *hostis*. 29. *Propior*: i. e. nearer to the enemy than the hill mentioned in l. 27. *ei*: i. e. *Hannibali*; construe with *apparuit*.

Page 169. 3. *per aversa a castris Hannibalis*: from the rear of their own camp, the part furthest away from Hannibal's; in other words, by the *porta decumana*. 7. *artibus*: 'tactics.' 10. *Iusta . . . dimicatum*: 'that a regular pitched battle was fought.' 13. *Numeri Decimi*: nominatives in *-ius*. 15. *Boviani*: the former capital of the Samnite confederacy. *Samnio*: notice the omission of *in*. 21. *duo castella*: perhaps at the position of the enemy referred to on p. 168, ll. 30, sqq. 23. *vanam*: 'lying,' 'boastful.'

CHAP. XXV. 28. *ut vera omnia essent*: 'granting that it was all true.' A. 313, a; H. 515, III.; G. 610. 32. *gerendae . . . gestae*: cf. *conditam condendamve*, p. 1, l. 23, and *exhaustos aut exhauriendos*, p. 94, ll. 13, 14. 33. *quo diutius*: a dictator might lay down his office at any time, but could not keep it more than six months.

Page 170. 3. *ablegatum*: cf. p. 154, l. 3. *praetores*: since 227 B. C. there had been four,—the *p. urbanus*, *p. peregrinus*, and one each for Sicily and Sardinia. 8. *quo . . . concessum sit*: 'from which district they had retired before the Carthaginians.' *Quo . . . agro*, ablative of separation; *Poenis*, dative of advantage. *tamquam trans Iberum (esset)*: alluding to the treaty made with Hasdrubal (p. 75, ll. 23, sqq.). 13. *prope*: construe with *clausos*. 14. *ut . . . ut*: 'when'

. . . 'as if.' **17. abrogando** : constitutionally a superior magistrate could not be deposed, though he might be induced to abdicate voluntarily. So this was an empty threat. Even supposing Fabius' appointment irregular, it would have required an act of the *comitia centuriata*, by which he was elected, to annul it; and a tribune could not call a meeting of that body. **20. mittendum = dimittendum** : 'allowed to depart.' **22. suffecisset** : 'had presided at the election of a *consul suffectus*,' i. e. a consul to take the place of the dead Flaminius. **in actione** : 'in addressing the people.' **23. satis** : 'quite.' **24. hostem** : Hannibal, not his army.

**29. prope diem** : 'soon;' often written as one word. **bono imperatore** : ablative absolute. **31. in tempore** : 'at the (right) time,' 'opportunely.' **34. M. Atilio Regulo** : he had been consul in 227 B. C., and was now an old man, as he himself said, p. 186, l. 17. **35. rogationis ferendae** : for voting on the proposal (of Metilius).

**Page 171. 1. plebis concilium** : whether this was or was not identical with the *comitia tributa* is one of the vexed questions of Roman constitutional history. But long before this time the principle had been established that resolutions of the *plebs* (*plebiscita*) should have the force of laws binding the whole nation. The plebeian tribunes had the right to call this assembly and propose legislation to it. **4. favore superante** : 'though there was abundant disposition to favor the measure;' *superare* in the sense of *superesse*, and contrasted with *deerat* (l. 5). **auctoritas** : 'the support of influential men.' **7. humili . . . sordido** : we may take the first as referring to his family, the second to his trade. **8. ipsum institorem mercis** : 'a retailer of his own wares.' Retail trade was considered ignominious by the Romans.

CHAP. XXVI. **11. liberalioris** : 'more respectable;' *liberalis* is what is worthy of a free man. **12. togaque et forum** : 'public life;' we say 'the cloth' for the clergy and 'the bar' for advocates. At Rome the lower classes ordinarily went in the tunic, without the toga, the formal dress for all public occasions. **proclamando** : contemptuous; 'by declaiming.' **13. rem et famam** : 'property and reputation.' **14. bonorum** : 'respectable people;' as in Cicero, the word is used in an aris-

tocratic sense. **honores**: men wishing to reach the consulship had to pass through a regular succession of lower offices.

**15. duabus aedilitatibus**: it was very unusual for a man to hold both aedileships.

**18. dictatoria**: this adjective is equivalent to an objective genitive. **19. unus gratiam tulit**: 'got the whole credit.'

**21. aequi atque iniqui**: 'friends and foes.' **22. acceperunt**: 'understood.'

**23. se**: i. e. *Fabium*. **ad** = *apud*. **26. aequato imperio**: this was inconsistent with the whole idea and purpose of the dictatorship, an undivided and unlimited command.

**Page 172. CHAP. XXVII. 4. annalium**: the *annales maximi*, drawn up annually by the *pontifex maximus*, and exhibited on a white tablet at his house. Historical literature had not begun at this time. **6. tremere**: the transitive use of this word is poetic, and in prose post-Augustan. The reference here is probably to Q. Fabius Rullianus, who barely escaped being put to death in 325 B. C., by the dictator L. Papirius Cursor, for fighting contrary to orders, though he gained a victory.

**7. secuturum se fortunam suam**: 'he would try his own luck,' 'act on his own responsibility.' **12. optimum ducere**: in Polybius, it is Fabius who offers the alternatives and Minucius who prefers to divide the army. **13. partitis temporibus**: 'in equal periods.'

**17. omnia eam fortunam**, etc.: 'that the fate of the whole enterprise would then be staked upon the rashness of his colleague.' **20. parte . . . cessurum**: 'give up the chance to guide measures with prudence so far as he could.'

**22. exercitum**: adversative asyndeton. **24. sicut consulibus mos esset**: it is true that ordinarily the armies were equally divided between the consuls; but, when they were combined, it was customary for the consuls to command the whole force alternately, usually one day at a time. **26. evenerunt**:

(sc. *sorte*), 'fell to.'

**CHAP. XXVIII. 31. eum fallebat**: 'escaped his knowledge.' **indicantibus . . . explorantem**: notice the awkward change of construction. **33. captaturum . . . decessisse**: these infinitives depend on the notion 'he was glad to think' implied in *gaudium* (l. 29).

**Page 173. 2. quem qui . . . facturus**: 'the occupation of which would render,' etc. **5. operae pretium**: 'worth his

while;’ cf. p. 1, l. 1 and p. 82, l. 8. 6. *satis sciebat*: ‘he was pretty sure.’ 8. *non modo*: the negation in *ne . . . quidem* affects the first as well as the second clause; translate as if it were *non modo non*. 9. *vestitum*: agrees with *quicquam*. *natus*: ‘fitted by nature.’ 11. *in anfractibus*: ‘in the windings’ of the valley. 15. *Necubi*: final, *ne cubi*. 18. *avertit*: sc. *Hannibal*. 19. *deposcere pellendos*: ‘begged to be allowed to dislodge.’ 22. *levem armaturam*: abstract for concrete. 30. *succedens tumulum*: ‘advancing up the knoll.’ *succedentem* = *subsequentem*, ‘coming behind them.’ 33. *iusta*: ‘in regular array.’ *recta*: ‘with the enemy in front,’ i. e. not coming *ex insidiis* as the case really was. 36. *eum* = *tantum*.

Page 174. CHAP. XXIX. 5. *fortuna*: ‘ill fortune.’ 9. *hosti . . . civibus*: A. 229; H. 385, II. 2; G. 344 R. 2. 15. *solutis ordinibus*: ‘having broken ranks.’ 16. *plures simul*: ‘in a body,’ ‘keeping together.’ 17. *volventesque orbem*: ‘forming a circle;’ as we say ‘forming square.’ 18. *sensim*: ‘only very slowly.’ 20. *receptui*: A. 233, *b*; H. 390; G. 350. 21. *palam ferente*: ‘openly admitting.’ 25. *primum . . . secundum*: ‘the best . . . the next best;’ Livy here puts into Minucius’ mouth a quotation from Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 293). 28. *extremi*: ‘lowest.’ 30. *sors*: ‘rank.’ 31. *in animum inducamus*: ‘let us make up our minds.’

Page 175. 3. *patronos*: they owed their lives to their comrades as a *libertus* owed his freedom to his *patronus*.

CHAP. XXX. 5. *conclamatur*: ‘command was given.’ 6. *vasa*: all kinds of baggage, including tents and utensils. 8. *tribunal*: a raised platform, to the left and in front of the *praetorium*, where stood the general’s *sella curulis*. 10. *circumfususque militum*: i. e. soldiers of Fabius; a very unusual treatment of a partitive genitive. *totum agmen*: Minucius’ army. 12. *quod fando possum*: ‘which is all I can do by mere words.’ 14. *plebeiscitum*: whereby he was made equal in authority to Fabius. *oneratus . . . honoratus*: paronomasia; a solemn pun, — ‘rather burdened than guerdoned.’ 15. *antiquo*: this word is not strictly applicable, as it means

to vote against a proposed measure, i. e. 'I approve the old and wish no change.' **abrogoque**: the proper word for repealing or annulling what is already in force.

**16. quod . . . sit felix**: 'may it prove fortunate.' **18. signa . . . restituo**: the standards were set up in camp before the general's tent. **26. pro se quisque**: 'every one individually.' **29. biennio**: the Carthaginians were just beginning their second year in Italy, as they had arrived late in the fall of 218 B. C., but this was the close of the second campaign.

**Page 176. 2. sedere in iugis**: a witty allusion to Fabius' habit of keeping on the hills, out of reach of the Punic cavalry.

CHAP. XXXI. **5. centum viginti**: the numeral, lacking in the MSS., is supplied from Polybius. **8. escensiones**: 'landings,' 'descents.' **Menige**: Menix, or Meninx, a large and fertile island in the Syrtis Minor, the island of the lotus-eaters described in the Odyssey. **9. Cercinam**: a small island about equally distant east from Carthage and south from Sicily.

**10. talentis**: cf. note on p. 67, l. 15. **12. iuxta . . . ac si**: 'just as if.' **14. frequentibus palantes . . . ignari . . . gnaris**: antithesis and chiasmus. **21. Ipse**: Servilius, opposed to *classis*, not to *legato*. **pedibus**: 'by land,' not necessarily 'on foot.' **24. semenstri imperio**: as already stated, the dictator's *imperium* was limited to six months at most (long enough for a campaign). Probably, also, it expired at the end of the term of the consul who had appointed him, though less than six months had elapsed since the nomination. **25. dictatorem**: 'as dictator.' **27. primum**: misleading; he was the *only* one before Sulla and Caesar, who were subsequent to the time of Coelius. **31. eo decursum esse**: 'they had recourse to this expedient.' **32. pro dictatore**: i. e. to exercise a dictator's functions, though not technically a dictator, because not nominated in the constitutional manner.

**Page 177. 1. titulum imaginis**: 'the inscription on his bust or mask;' alluding to the custom of preserving in the *atrium* the images of those ancestors of the family who had held curule offices, together with inscriptions narrating their exploits. **3. obtinuisse**: 'brought about,' 'caused.'



CHAP. XXXII. **6. reliquom autumni**: it was probably then October, as the battle of Trasimenus had been in April. **8. carpentes . . . excipientes**: 'harassing his army on the march and cutting off stragglers.' **13. repetiturus fuerit**: Roby, Lat. Gr. 1521. **17. Neapolitani**: Neapolis, an ancient Greek city on the Campanian coast, became an ally of Rome at the end of the third Samnite war, 290 B. C. **24. fortunae**: sc. *adversae*. **26. in sese**: in themselves, as distinguished from their property. They were expected to furnish naval assistance only, when called upon. Only Romans and Latins served in the legions. **28. duxissent . . . iudicaverint**: an unusually abrupt change from the narrator's to the speaker's temporal standpoint. **30. re**: 'intrinsic value.'

**Page 178.** CHAP. XXXIII. **3. in crucem acti**: crucifixion was the ordinary way of executing slaves. **4. in campo Martio coniurassent**: this is a puzzle to commentators; the common explanation—viz. that they had surreptitiously got themselves enrolled as soldiers, and taken the military oath, which freemen alone had the right to do—may be the true one, but it is not entirely satisfactory, and the expression in the text is too vague to be interpreted with certainty. The *Campus Martius* was the place of military enrolment. **5. aeris gravis**: sc. *assium*; in public rewards, as in religious rites, the libral *as*, ten times as heavy as the *as* of 217 B. C., was still used; this sum was about eight hundred and seventy-five dollars.

**6. Philippum**: Philip V. of Macedonia, with whom the Romans had two wars, conquered by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae, 197 B. C. **7. Demetrium**: to Demetrius of Pharos was given by the Romans the rule over several islands on the Illyrian coast; he revolted, was defeated by Aemilius Paulus in 219 B. C., and, fleeing to Philip V., tried to induce him to espouse his cause against Rome. **11. Pineum**: when queen Teuta of Scodra, who had aided the Illyrian pirates, was defeated by the Romans in 228 B. C., her young stepson Pineus was placed on her throne, under the guardianship of Demetrius. The tribute imposed on Pineus was now overdue. **13. si diem proferri vellet**: 'if he wished to have the date of payment postponed.' **14. usquam terrarum**: 'anywhere in the world.' Cf. note on p. 156, l. 12.

16. **In religionem . . . venit** : 'became a subject of religious scruple,' 'caused reproaches of conscience.' **aedem Concordiae** : beside the temple of Juno Moneta, on the *arx*, not the famous temple on the *Clivus Capitolinus*, dedicated by Camillus, 367 B. C., after the long contest about opening the consulship to plebeians.

17. **seditionem** : this probably occurred at the point reached in Bk. xxi., ch. 25.

18. **locatam** : 'contracted for;' public contracts were usually made by the censors, sometimes by commissioners specially appointed.

27. **interregem** : this title was a relic of the ancient monarchy; cf. Bk. i. ch. 17.

29. **Patribus** : the senate had the right to decide whether an *interrex* or a dictator should be appointed.

**rectius** : 'more proper,' the consuls being still in office.

**Page 179.** 1. **vitio** : there was some informality in the appointment that was not immediately noticed. 2. **ad interregnum** : the consul's term having meantime expired, a dictator could not be named, and so an *interrex* was appointed.

CHAP. XXXIV. 4. **Interreges** : in the early centuries of the republic elections were very frequently held by *interreges*; it was never the first *interrex*, and it generally was the second, who held the election; the first one was appointed by the senate, each subsequent one by his predecessor; each held office five days; the patrician senators alone had a share in the formalities of an *interregnum*.

**prodit** : 'nominated,' 6. **patrum** : 'the nobles,' i. e. all families, plebeian as well as patrician, whose ancestors had held curule offices, which gave admission to the senate.

8. **principum** : i. e. the leading politicians among the nobility. 10. **aliena invidia** : 'by the unpopularity of another man' (Fabius).

**extrahere** : 'to raise up.'

13. **cognatus** : strictly speaking, a relative on the mother's side, a relative on the father's side being *agnatus*. As these men did not belong to the same *gens*, the former must be meant.

20. **universis** : 'if united.' 24. **prius = magis**. 28. **hominem novum** : the first of his family to obtain a curule office was so called.

29. **nobiles** : the meaning of the word is explained in note on *patrum*, l. 6; the old war of castes between patricians and plebeians had long since been super-

seduced by that between nobles and commons. **sacris**: 'mysteries;' the sense is rather metaphorical than literal; the essential bond of unity in a *gens*, or family, was community of *sacra*, i. e. a common worship of the same household gods or gentile divinities, especially the deified ancestors common to all the members by birth or adoption. What is meant here is that plebeians admitted into the charmed circle of political "nobility" were as anxious as any patricians to keep out "new men." **30. ex quo**: sc. (*tempore*), 'as soon as,' 'from the moment that.' **31. id actum**: 'that this was their object.' **32. in patrum potestate**: because the *interrex* was a patrician magistrate. **33. ambos**: logical subject of *morando*; 'by both remaining.'

**Page 180. 2. expugnatum . . . fieret**: 'it had been carried through that the dictator's appointment should be declared invalid by the augurs.' **4. consulatum unum**, etc.: this was provided by the Licinian law, 367 B. C.

CHAP. XXXV. **9. iam**: modifies *nobilium*. **13. rogando**: all votes put to the people were in the form of a question to be answered 'yes' or 'no;' but translate 'for the election of.' **14. L. Aemilius Paulum**: a *plebiscitum*, passed in 342 B. C., provided that no one should be elected to any office twice in ten years. Paulus had been consul in 219 B. C. Another *plebiscitum*, in 217 B. C., had provided that any ex-consul might be re-elected as often as desired while the war in Italy lasted (Livy, Bk. xxvii., ch. 6). **15. M. Livio**, afterward called Salinator, consul in 219 B. C., was condemned for dishonesty in the disposal of the spoil captured in the Illyrian war of that year; but he was consul again in 207 B. C.

**16. prope ambustus evaserat**: 'had barely escaped unscathed.' **18. comitiali die**: cf. note on p. 24, l. 33. **19. in adversandum**: an unusual form of expression of purpose. **21. Pomponius**: *praetor peregrinus* of the preceding year; cf. note on p. 149, l. 20. **23. Additi duo**: the expression is misleading, for four praetors were annually elected, and then they chose by lot their respective spheres of duty (*provinciae*). **24. M. Claudius Marcellus**: the "Sword of Rome" (as Fabius was the "Shield"), the conqueror of Syracuse, killed in 208 B. C., in his fifth consulship.

CHAP. XXXVI. **30. multiplicati**: 'largely increased.'

**Page 181.** 2. *ausus sim* : A. 311, *b* ; H. 486, 1.; G. 250.  
 6. *milibus* : to be taken distributively = *millenis*, as is made clear by *in singulas*. 7. *trecenti* : Livy usually gives 300 as the number of cavalry to a legion; from this we should infer that it was ordinarily 200. 9. *quidam auctores sunt* : 'some authorities say.' 10. *rem actam* : 'preparation for the campaign was made.' 16. *Ariciae* : cf. note on p. 61, l. 8. 17. *signa* : 'statues' of the gods. 18. *Caere aquas* : sc. *multo cruore* with *manasse*. 19. *saepius* : 'repeatedly.' 20. *via fornicata* : 'a vaulted, arcaded street,' a line of porticoes. *Campum* : sc. *Martium*. *erat* : 'used to lead.' 21. *de caelo tacti* : i. e. 'struck by lightning.' 22. *Paesto* : a Greek town (Posidonia) in Lucania, colonized by the Romans in 273 B. C., now celebrated for its magnificent temple ruins.

CHAP. XXXVII. 32. *se* : i. e. Hiero.

**Page 182.** 1. *Victoriam* : 'a statue of Victory.' 2. *sese* : i. e. the ambassadors. 3. *propriam et perpetuam* : 'their own forever.' 4. *modium* : genitive plural. 6. *Milite* = *pedite*. 7. *scire* : sc. *Hieronem*. *non uti* : i. e. in the legions. 8. *auxilia* : Polybius says that the Romans had already asked and received auxiliary troops from Hiero. 11. *pugnacesque* : 'used to fighting.' 13. *traiceret* : doubtless he meant a regular invasion, not a mere plundering expedition. As the sequel proved, this was sound advice, and the only way to end the war. But what succeeded later might have failed then. 14. *minusque laxamenti* : 'less leisure.' 17. *uno tenore, ex quo* : 'steadily ever since.' 21. *gratia rei* : 'kind intention.' 23. *dare dicare* : pleonastic formula usual in such cases. 24. *templum* : the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. 27. *ad . . . navium classem* : the numeral has been lost from the text; the fleet is probably the one mentioned in Bk. xxi., ch. 51. 30. *e re publica* : 'for the public interest.'

CHAP. XXXVIII. 33. *iure iurando . . . milites* : 'the soldiers had an oath administered to them by the military tribunes.'

**Page 183.** 3. *ubi ad decuratum*, etc. : 'when they had come together to be formed into decuries (of cavalry) or cen-

turies (of infantry).<sup>1</sup> 5. *decuriati equites*: 'the troopers of a decury.' 6. *fugae* . . . *ergo*: archaic. A. 223, *e*; H. 398, 5; G. 372. 7. *sumendi*: i. e. from the supply in the rear. *repetendi*: i. e. to recover a weapon already thrown toward the enemy. 8. *Id* . . . *translatum*: 'this voluntary agreement among themselves was changed into a formal administration of an oath by the tribunes.' 11. *Contiones*: 'public harangues.' 12. *denuntiantis*: 'openly declaring.' 17. *verior quam gratior*: A. 192; H. 444, 2; G. 314. 19. *qui*: 'how.' 22. *diem* . . . *qua*: A. 73; H. 123. 24. *res* *dent*: 'circumstances suggested.' 28. *ad id locorum*: 'up to that time.' A. 216, *a*, 3; H. 397, 3; G. 371. 29. *sua sponte apparebat*: 'it was self-evident.'

Page 184. CHAP. XXXIX. 1. *boni* . . . *mall*: disguised protases, 'if you were both good . . . bad.' A. 310; G. 594, 3. *me indicente* = *me non dicente*: 'without my speaking.' 6. *altera parte claudente*: 'halting,' 'limping on one side.' 7. *idem*: construe with *iuris et potestatis*. 10. *nescio an*: 'I don't know but,' 'I rather think that.' 15. *Ominis etiam* . . . *causa*, etc.: 'to avoid the ill omen, I would rather not mention,' etc. 16. *demum*: only after he became consul and reached his province, not beforehand, as Varro had done. 17. *furere* . . . *insanit*: the former means to act like a madman, it may be only at times; the latter denotes the chronic state of madness. 27. *adversus* = *coram*: one would not boast in a conversation with a single man, even though one might do so in addressing an assembly. 28. *modum excesserim*: 'I would rather transgress the limits of moderation.' 29. *una*: 'only one.'

Page 185. 2. *tempus diesque*: 'lapse of time.' 6. *in diem*: 'for the day,' 'one day at a time.' *partem vix tertiam*: this was true of his original army that had crossed the Ebro, but he had received large reinforcements in Italy, and had about 50,000 troops at this time. 9. *suppeditat*: 'is forthcoming.' 10. *senescat*: 'grows weaker.' *in dies*: 'day by day,' denoting progression. 16. *ludificati sint*: 'have baffled.' 19. *consul Romanus* . . . *Poenus imperator*: chiasmus. 21. *Resistes*: 'you will (successfully) withstand.'

**23. falsa infamia** : 'undeserved unpopularity.' **24. laborare** : 'be obscured.' **25. Sine . . . vocent** : 'let them call you,' 'never mind if they do call you.' **31. tuae potestatis**, etc. : 'always keep command over yourself and your circumstances.'

**Page 186. CHAP. XL. 5. popolare incendium** : the fire of popular indignation, referring, as previously explained, to 219 B. C., when his colleague was condemned. **9. Ab** : 'immediately after.' **11. conspectior** : i. e. in regard to numbers. **12. dignitates** : abstract for concrete. **13. castra** : for the locality, cf. p. 161, l. 30, and p. 168, l. 15. **14. bifariam** : i. e. they pitched an additional one. **17. excusantem** : 'alleging by way of excuse' (from active service). **20. parte dimidia** : it was not half as large again, but twice as large. **22. superabat** : 'was left;' = *supererat*. **23. reliqui** : A. 216, a, 3; H. 397, 3; G. 371. **27. parata fuerit** : 'was already arranged, and would have been carried out.'

CHAP. XLI. **29. consulis** : of one consul, Varro.

**Page 187. 3. par** : 'equally favorable,' 'on equal terms.' **4. Ad . . . septingenti** : *ad* is adverbial in this phrase, and so used with the nominative. **5. effuse** : 'headlong.' **11. inescatam** : 'lured by the bait.' **12. omnia . . . hostium** : 'all the circumstances of the enemy.' **14. duas . . . partes** : 'two thirds.' **18. fortunae** : 'property.' **20. impedimenta** : this means only baggage essential for their march; most of their belongings, as already said, being left behind. **mediam** : 'intervening.' **23. ut fides fieret . . . voluisse** : 'to create the impression that he had wished.'

CHAP. XLII. **27. subductae . . . stationes** : 'the fact that the outposts had been withdrawn.' **30. praetoria consulum** : each consul had his separate *praetorium*, though they were both in the same camp. **nuntiantium** : does not refer to *consulum*, but limits *concursum*.

**Page 188. 1. iuberent**, etc. : the verbs are plural; one consul was in command, but the other could not be entirely disregarded. He was still second in command, and his opinion of course had weight. **2. consul alter** : Varro. **velut unus**, etc. : 'like any private soldier.' **5. seditionem** : 'mu-

tiny.' **ducem seditionis**: this is rather strong, as it was Varro's turn to command on that day. **6. praefectum**: a commander of a *turma*, probably the senior of the three *decuriones* commanding the *decuriae* composing a *turma*. **12. in promptu**: 'in plain sight.' **18. pulli**: if the sacred chickens ate greedily, it was a sign of victory; if they refused to eat, the indication was adverse. **19. auspicio**: circumstantial ablative; 'as he was taking the auspices.' Varro had the *auspicia* proper on that day, Paulus only the *auspicia minora*. **addixissent**: 'had given their assent.' **21. Claudique . . . clades**: referring to the overwhelming defeat off Drepanum in Sicily, in 249 B. C., of the consul P. Claudius Pulcher, who treated the omens given by the *pulli* with contempt. **23. religionem . . . incussit**: 'occasioned religious scruples.' **27. Sidicini**: from Teanum Sidicinum. **32. ambitio**: 'striving for popularity.' **33. suam primum**: 'his own first,' implying 'and his colleague's afterward.'

**Page 189.** CHAP. XLIII. **2. nequiquam**: construe, not with *detecta*, but with *rediit*; 'returned without having accomplished his purpose.' **5. mixtos ex conluviene**: 'a mixed medley.' **9. annonam**: 'scarcity,' or 'high price of provisions.' **11. ipse . . . Hannibal**: it seems to be a slight solace to the historian's national pride to paint Hannibal's situation in the darkest colors. But this, in our eyes, serves only to heighten the brilliancy of his success. Anything like a cowardly desertion of his own army by Hannibal, even in imagination, we may regard as one of the ordinary groundless aspersions of his character by the Romans, who could never forgive him for humbling them so completely. **15. calidiora**: the plains of northern Apulia were warmer than the highlands about Gereonium. **maturiora messibus**: 'sooner ripe for the harvest.' **21. Statilius**: cf. p. 188, l. 6. **28. Cannas**: an open village in Apulia on the southeast bank of the Aufidus, a few miles from the coast. **urgente fato**: a favorite phrase of the author; he regards Varro, and previously Flaminius, as afflicted with a sort of judicial blindness and infatuation. **Prope eum vicum**: evidently on the same (southeast) side of the river. **29. Volturmo**: the Scirocco, east-southeast wind, so called because it blew over Mt. Vultur; this indicates that

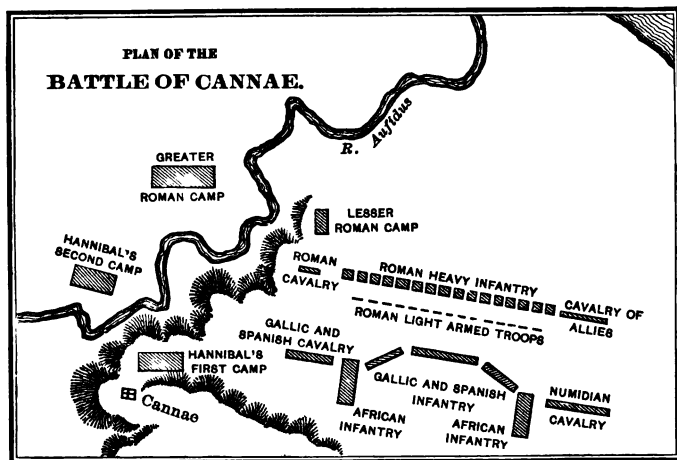
the camp faced northwest. **30. campis torridis:** cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 30, 11, "*Et qua pauper aquae Daunus;*" with *campis*, sc. *in*.

**Page 190. CHAP. XLIV. 2. Ad Cannas:** 'to the vicinity of Cannae.' Livy does not mention, what Polybius makes clear; viz., that before the battle Hannibal had transferred his camp to the same side of the river on which the larger Roman camp lay. **3. bina castra:** the large one on the northwest bank, the smaller on the southeast. **4. intervallo:** Polybius says it was ten stadia. **5. Aufidius:** generally spelled *Aufidus*, a swift river rising in the Apennines and flowing into the Adriatic. Horace, who was born at Venusia, near its banks, says, "*qua violens obstrepit Aufidus;*" Carm. iii. 30, 10. In summer it becomes quite shallow. **6. ex sua . . . opportunitate:** 'according to each one's convenience.' **8. trans Aufidium:** on the southeast bank. **10. natis:** 'naturally fitted,' i. e. level. **11. facturos:** connect with *spem*. **13. seditione:** 'insubordination.' **16. speciosum:** 'furnishing a plausible excuse.' **17. hic:** Varro. **19. usu cepisset:** *usu capere* is to gain title to property by continued possession. By the Twelve Tables, occupation of land for two years gave ownership by usucapion. Sandars' Justinian, 206 (Am. ed.). **21. militibus:** A. 229; H. 385, II. 2. **ille:** Paulus. **24. videret:** 'he should see to it that;' subjunctive, representing imperative of *oratio recta*.

CHAP. XLV. **27. ad multum diei:** 'till late in the day.'

**Page 191. 2. evecti sunt:** 'they rode on.' **3. tumultuario:** 'irregular.' **7. sors:** 'chance' or 'turn:' not that they drew lots every day. **9. quia magis non probare,** etc.: 'because, though he could not approve, he still could not refuse to aid in carrying out the plan.' **11. Transgressi flumen:** the battle, it seems, took place on the southeast bank, as the Romans, according to Polybius, were facing south and had their right flank resting on the river. Yet some of the best historical authorities have placed the site on the northwest bank. Livy's account, explained by that of Polybius with reference to one detail (note on p. 190, l. 2), seems to indicate a situation somewhat like that shown in the following diagram.





16. *iaculatores . . . prima acies facta*: 'slingers . . . constituted the first line:' the verb agrees with the predicate nominative. The date of this battle, nominally August 2d, 216 B. C., was really some day near the middle of June.

CHAP. XLVI. 21. *transgressus*: from the northwest to the southeast bank. *ut quosque . . . locabat*: 'stationed them in line of battle in the same order in which he had led them across the river.' 25. *firmata*: 'formed of.' 26. *Galli atque Hispani*: it was his intention, as usual, to let them bear the brunt of the fight, and to spare his Africans as much as possible. 29. *scuta*: oblong shields, covering the whole body. 30. *disparēs ac dissimiles*: 'different in size and shape.'

Page 192. 2. *praetextis*: 'edged,' 'bordered.' 6. *Hasdrubal*: not Hannibal's brother, who was in Spain. 9. *obliquus erat*: 'shone sideways.'

CHAP. XLVII. 17. *minime equestris more pugnae*: there was no room for the ordinary cavalry tactics; the cavalry opposed to the Romans on this wing were numerous enough to push them off the field by mere weight; 8,000 Gauls and Spaniards against less than 2,400 Romans. 19. *ad evagandum*:

'for manœuvring.' 20. **In directum**: 'straight forward.'  
 21. **turba**: modal ablative. 22. **Pedestre**: predicate. 25.  
**Sub**: 'about the time of.' 27. **Gallis**: A. 235; H. 384, II.  
 4, N. 2.

28. **obliqua fronte**: this probably means that they advanced their wings, making their front concave, so as to fit against the convex front (*cuneum*) of the enemy, whose centre was advanced beyond the wings. The Gauls and Spaniards seem to have fallen back till the Africans on the wings became engaged. The latter were called *subsidia*, reserves, not because placed directly behind the other troops, but because placed further back and not intended to engage at the outset in the fight. As the Romans pressed on the shallow centre of Gauls and Spaniards, the latter, falling back, first made the front straight (*aequavit frontem*), then, retiring still further, made it concave (*sinum in medio dedit*). Then the wings enveloped the Romans on both flanks, so that they were assailed on three sides at once, while the centre ceased to give ground in front of them, and the Africans gradually extended their lines around the rear. The Romans, thus huddled into insufficient space, found their unusually deep files another source of embarrassment, for those in the interior of the columns were unable to fight, while the ever tightening ring of the enemy kept closing in as the outer ranks fell before them. 31. **tenore uno**: 'without stopping.'

**Page 193.** 6. **cornua**: the extremities of the *alae*.

CHAP. XLVIII. 16. **segne**: this is not surprising, as the 2,000 light Numidian horsemen were opposed to more than twice that number of the Italian allies. 21. **in mediam aciem**: this phrase probably arises from the fact that Livy is following two different accounts,—one of which represents this manœuvre as carried out by Celtiberians against the Roman infantry in the centre; or possibly the phrase simply means that the cavalry open their ranks in the midst to receive the Numidians. 25. **scutis**: i. e. of fallen Romans, which would for a time prevent their being recognized as enemies. 29. **alibi . . . alibi**: the first refers to the right wing, the second to the centre. 30. **in mala iam spe**: 'though hope was already abandoned.' **Hasdrubal**: we must infer what is not stated; viz., that after dispersing the Roman right, Hasdrubal had made

his way behind the Romans to the left wing to help the Numidians against the cavalry of the allies, and that, when the latter were routed, he left the pursuit to the Numidians and turned with his own heavy cavalry against the Roman infantry. But still the phrase, *subductos ex media acie*, is unintelligible.

**Page 194.** CHAP. XLIX. 3. **Parte altera**: this is ambiguous, as all parts of the battle have been described, but *occurrit* . . . *Hannibali* shows that the centre is meant.

10. **Quam malle**, etc.: ironical; he feels that they are beaten just as surely as if they were already prisoners in his hands. 11. **quale**: sc. *est* or *solet esse*. **iam haud dubia**, etc.: 'when the victory of the enemy is no longer doubtful.'

15. **superantis**: 'survivors;' as often, *superare* = *superesse*.

18. **praetervehens**: 'riding by;' used as participle of *praetervēhor*, as if it were a deponent. 25. **macte virtute**: A. 241, d, N.; H. 369, 3; G. 324, R. I.

26. **cave . . . absumas**: A. 331, f, last note; 269, a, 3; H. 489, 2; 499, 2; G. 264, II.

**Page 195.** 1. **alieno crimine**: 'by accusing another.'

2. **Haec . . . agentis**: 'as they were talking thus.' 11. **Venusiam**: about twenty-eight miles southwest of the battle-field; since 291 B. C. it had been a "Latin" colony.

16. **undetriginta tribuni**: the staff and field officers of the legions, six for each. **consulares**, etc.: ex-consuls, ex-praetors, ex-aediles; in apposition with *tribuni*.

20. **eos . . . unde . . . deberent**: 'such as gave them the right to be enrolled in the senate;' on giving up a curule office the incumbent was entitled to a seat in the senate, but could not be formally placed on the list of senators till the next census.

22. **sua voluntate**: 'as volunteers;' after holding such offices they were exempt from ordinary military duty.

CHAP. L. 25. **Aliensi**: the battle on the Allia, July 18th, 390 B. C., was followed by the capture and destruction of Rome by the Gauls.

27. **quia . . . cessatum**: 'because the enemy were remiss' in following up their victory.

30. **alterius . . . exercitus fuit**: 'almost all the army shared the fate of the other one who died;' *alterius*, predicative possessive genitive.

33. **mittunt**: i. e. to the smaller camp.

**Page 196.** 2. *Canusium*: about five miles southwest, near the river. 10. *aestimarique capita*, etc.: 'to have a value set upon your heads and your ransom determined.' 11. *civis* . . . *an* . . . *socius*: cf. p. 149, ll. 8-10, for the different manner in which Hannibal treated the Romans and their allies. 12. *alteri*: the *socius* as distinguished from the *civis*; comparatively the former would experience *honor*, the latter *contumelia*. 15. *cives*: fellow citizens; *conciuis* is not classical. 19. *quamvis*: construe with *confertos*; 'however.' *Cuneo*: 'in a compact column,' the usual sense of the word. 22. *Haec ubi*, etc.: a hexameter and a half, supposed to have come from Ennius through Coelius. 25. *translati* . . . *scutis*: the shield was ordinarily worn on the left arm. 26. *inde protinus*: 'then as they went on.'

CHAP. LI. 32. *bello*: if this word is used intentionally instead of *pugna*, it is not to be wondered at that they thought such a victory would end the war. Against any but the Romans, it doubtless would have done so.

**Page 197.** 6. *maiorque, quam* . . . *posset*: 'too great to be at once realized.' 7. *voluntatem*: 'zeal.' 11. *satis creditur*, etc.: in after times it was a stock question for debate in the schools of rhetoric whether or not Hannibal should have marched upon Rome at this time. He certainly could not have captured it by a sudden dash of cavalry. The walls were strong, the population large and used to fighting. His army was not large enough to invest the city, and he had no engines for a siege. What he was waiting for, was the desertion of Rome's allies and the breaking up of the Italian confederacy. 14. *etiam hostibus*: 'even in the eyes of an enemy.' 17. *stricta matutino frigore*: 'stinging in the cold of the early morning.' 24. *convertit omnes*: 'attracted the attention of all.' 26. *ille*: the Roman.

CHAP. LII. 29. *ad multum diel*: 'till late in the day.' 31. *brachio*: 'a line of entrenchment,' 'a breastwork.' 33. *Pacti*: followed by double construction: (1) the clause, *ut* . . . *traderent*; (2) the ablatives of price, *trecentis*, etc., i.e. the price at which they might be ransomed if they surrendered as prisoners of war.

**Page 198.** 1. *nummis quadrigatis*: silver *denarii* (of the value of ten reduced *asses*, about one sixth of a dollar), so called because stamped with an image of Jupiter driving a four-horse chariot (*quadriga*). Mr. Capes observes that money dealings with the Carthaginians were by weight. 5. *seorsum*: *sē* (= *sine*) and *vorsum* (= *versum*), like *rursus* (= *re-versus*) and *prorsus* (= *pro-versus*), etc. 7. *hominum* = *peditum*. 12. *si quid argenti*: sc. *erat*. 13. *ad vescendum facto*: 'made for table service.' 14. *perexiguo*: the era of luxury, introduced by foreign conquest, was soon to begin.

CHAP. LIII. 30. *adulescentem*: eighteen years old. 31. *summa imperii*: 'the chief command.' 32. *inter paucos*: 'with a few others.' *de summa rerum*: 'about the general situation of affairs.' 33. *P. Furius Philus*: probably a son of the *praetor urbanus*; cf. p. 180, l. 21.

**Page 199.** 4. *spectare*: 'had in view,' i. e. 'intended to have recourse to.' *regum*: they would take service in the army of some foreign prince. 5. *super*: 'following upon.' 6. *torpidos defixisset*: 'had petrified;' the adjective expresses the effect of the verb. 9. *fatalis . . . belli*: 'destined to put an end to this war,' i. e. by the defeat of Hannibal fourteen years later at Zama in Africa. 13. *hospitium*: 'quarters,' 'lodging.' 16. *Ex mei animi sententia*: 'upon my honor,' i. e. without mental reservation; a common formula in taking an oath.

CHAP. LIV. 30. *togas*: not worn at all by the private soldiers of the infantry, and not by any one when actually under arms. *quinos vicens*: the *equites* had ordinarily three times the pay of the *pedites*; what the latter received on this occasion was about a month's pay.

**Page 200.** 1. *gravius*: 'too heavy.' 8. *consularis exercitus*: this was ordinarily two legions, with the proper complement of *socii*. 12. *occidione occisum*: 'utterly destroyed;' this sounds like a Hebraism. 14. *salva urbe*: this phrase is inserted to cover the single exception to the statement, i. e. the capture of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B. C. 15. *ne succumbam oneri*: it would perhaps be better to omit *ne*,

and translate: 'I shall decline the task.' *neque* = *et non*, there being no corresponding *neque*. 18. *non vulnus super vulnus*: i. e. not another blow of the same kind, but *multiplex clades*, 'a disaster many times as great.' 23. *tanta mole cladis*: 'by so overwhelming a defeat.' 24. *ad Aegatis insulas*: the concluding battle of the first Punic war, 241 B. C. 25. *fracti*: 'disheartened.' *Sardinia*: this island was not ceded then; cf. note on p. 74, l. 20. 26. *vectigalis ac stipendiarios*: cf. note on p. 114, l. 27. 27. *pugnam . . . in Africa*: the battle of Zama, 202 B. C.

CHAP. LV. 30. *praetores*: the highest magistrates in the absence of consuls. Upon them devolved the chief executive power. It should be remembered that the senate was in theory a mere advisory body. The magistrates acted by virtue of their *imperium*, but took counsel of the senate; which, however, had no initiative of its own. 31. *curiam Hostiliam*: cf. note on p. 38, l. 5.

Page 201. 1. *sicuti . . . ita*: 'as . . . as,' not 'though . . . yet.' *ne . . . expedirent*: 'they could not form any definite plan.' 3. *nondum palam facto*: 'as the facts were not yet published.' 5. *Appia et Latina via*: the two great southern roads, by which fugitives or messengers from the battlefield would arrive. 13. *agendum*: 'measures were to be taken.' 18. *suae . . . fortunae*: 'as to the fate of his own relatives;' *sua fortuna* means what specially concerned himself. 19. *domi*: locative; construe with *expectet*. *auctorem*: 'an informant.'

CHAP. LVI. 25. *pedibus . . . issent*: 'had voted for' (without debate); the division was made by going to one or the other side of the house. 27. *diversi*: 'in different directions.' 31. *inconpositorum inordinatorumque*: 'demoralized and disorganized.'

Page 202. 1. *nundinantem*: 'bargaining,' 'haggling;' denominative verb from *nundinae* (*novem dies*), 'market days.' 3. *anniversarium Cereris*: the regular *Cerealia* occurred in April. This statement is obscure, as the battle was fought nominally on August 2d. The allusion may be to another feast of Ceres mentioned by Cicero (*Pro Balbo*, 55; *De Leg. ii.* 21, 37). The *Cerealia* was a festival of matrons, and so many of

them were in mourning that few were left to wear the white festal garb. **7. diebus** : ablative. **11. regnum Hieronis** : Syracuse and the country about it along the east coast of the island. **13. Aegatis insulas** : off the northwest corner of the island. **15. Lilybaeum** : cf. note on p. 123, l. 22.

CHAP. LVII. **20. M. Claudium (Marcellum)** : he had not yet gone to his province (cf. p. 180, l. 24). He was already a distinguished soldier, and had gained a signal victory over the Gauls in 222 B. C., slaying their king Viridomarus, and thus gaining *spolia opima* for the third and last time in Roman history. **classi** : probably the one mentioned p. 176, l. 18. **28. necata** : it was deemed sacrilegious to lay violent hands on the Vestals who had been consecrated to the goddess, and so, when convicted of unchastity, they were buried in a subterranean vault in the *campus sceleratus* by the Colline gate. **29. scriba . . . quos** : *constructio per synesim*, the relative indicating the class to which the individual belonged.

**Page 203.** **1. Fabius Pictor** : the historian; cf. Introduction, p. viii. **3. suppliciiis** = *supplicationibus*; archaic. **4. fatalibus libris** : the Sybilline books. **6. in foro bovario** : cf. note on p. 137, l. 28. **8. minime Romano** : what Livy disapproves is un-Roman; the blame is here laid upon the foreign books. There are several traces of human sacrifice in Roman history, e. g. M. Curtius, Decius Mus, the *ver sacrum*, etc. **13. legio tertia** : it appeared, p. 198, l. 29, that the third legion was at Cannae. This may have been the third marine legion, or a new count may have been made after the destruction of the consular army, or it may be a mistake. **14. Teanum Sidicinum** : an important town in northern Campania, commanding the *Via Latina*. **17. M. Junius (Pera)** : the last dictator *rei gerendae causa*. **Ti. Sempronius** (Gracchus) : consul in 215 and 213 B. C. **19. praetextatos** : boys under seventeen, who had not exchanged the *toga praetexta* for the *toga virilis*. **21. ex formula** : the list of those capable of bearing arms, according to which the *quota* of each of the allied communities was regulated. **25. servitiis** = *servis* : abstract for concrete. By being enrolled in the legions, the slaves were emancipated. **28. copia fieret** : 'the opportunity was offered.'

CHAP. LVIII. **29. secundum** : 'immediately after.'

**Page 204.** 8. *aliquantum adiciebatur*: cf. p. 198, l. 1, where no distinction is made between *equites* and *pedites*. 17. *aliquid oblitus*: A. 219; H. 407; G. 375, R. 2. 20. *dictatoris verbis*: 'in the dictator's name.' 21. *finibus Romanis*: the territory of the thirty-five tribes of *cives Romani*.

CHAP. LIX. 22. *senatus*: 'an audience of the senate.' 23. *M. Iuni*: the dictator, as the presiding officer, is addressed first and by name.

**Page 205.** 7. *a Gallis*: in 390 B. C. 8. *patres vestros*: more than sixty years before, the senate had sent an embassy concerning an exchange of prisoners to Pyrrhus of Epirus. 14. *nisi in quibus*: 'only because,' etc. 19. *premendo*: = *deprimendo*, 'by disparaging.' 25. *utemini*: 'you will find.'

**Page 206.** 1. *avarior an crudellior*: A. 192; H. 444, 2; G. 314. 5. *Intueri potestis*: the doors of the *curia* were standing open, so that the crowd outside was visible to the senators. 10. *in discrimine*: 'at stake.' 11. *me dius fidius*: i. e. *ita me d. f. iuvet*, 'so help me,' etc. 21. *vos . . . pepercisse*: 'that you grudged the money.'

CHAP. LX. 24. *in comitio*: the northeast part of the forum, in front of the *curia*. 28. *arbitris*: including the delegates of the prisoners; cf. note on p. 26, l. 14. *consuli*: passive because individual members were called on by the presiding magistrate for their opinions. 32. *mutuam*: 'as a loan.' *praedibusque*: 'sureties,' 'bondsmen,' *praedes* (*prae, vas*). 33. *praediis*: 'landed estates,' i. e. 'mortgages,' *praedium* = *praehendium*. T. *Manlius Torquatus*: consul in 235 and 224 B. C.; the surname 'was from the torque or necklace of a gigantic Gaul slain by his ancestor, 361 B. C. 34. *priscoe*, etc.: Cicero would not thus join a genitive of quality with a proper name.

**Page 207.** 4. *quid enim aliud quam*: in translating put *quam* directly before *ut*; *aliud*, A. 238, *b*; H. 371, II.; G. 331, R. 2. 19. *ipsis*: 'they too,' as well as the Romans. 21. *etiam per confertos*: 'even if they had been in close array.'



**23. Nocte prope tota** : rhetorical exaggeration ; cf. p. 196, ll. 8, sqq. **28. P. Decius** (*Mus*) secured the retreat of the Roman army in the first Samnite war, 343 B. C., by seizing and holding, with a small detachment, a position where their destruction by the enemy seemed almost certain. **30. priore** : not *primo*, as the speaker knew of no third Punic war. **Calpurnius Flamma**, in 258 B. C. in Sicily sacrificed himself and his detachment to save the army.

**Page 208. 10. deminuti capite** : for the different grades of *capitis deminutio*, vide Sanders' Justinian, p. 124 (Am. ed.) ; these men suffered the *maxima c. d.*, as they lost liberty as well as citizenship. Being no longer *cives*, they had no *patria* to regret. **abalienati** = *privati*. **18. conati sunt** : 'attempted (and would have succeeded).' **28. viginti milia** : a round number, but an under-statement.

**Page 209. 2. At ad erupendum**, etc. : rhetorical statement, made in order to be contradicted with emphasis. **8. Orto sole** : the speaker drops his irony and states the fact as it was. **10. vobis** : A. 236 ; H. 389 ; G. 351.

CHAP. LXI. **29. locupletari** : a weak argument ; the same result would follow if the prisoners were sold as slaves, and we learn that these very ones were sold in Greece for five hundred denarii apiece. (Livy, Bk. xxxiv., ch. 50.) **30. redimi** : present, instead of future, showing the certainty of the decision. **33. fallaci reditu** : cf. p. 204, ll. 15, sqq.

**Page 210. 14. per causam** : 'under the pretext.' **18. proxumis censoribus** : temporal ablative. **19. notis** : the *nota* was the censor's entry on the list of senators, equites, or citizens, giving the reason for the degradation of those whose names were removed therefrom ; thence it came to mean any brand of disgrace. **21. omni deinde vita** : 'all the rest of their lives.' **28. Defecere** : the nations here named did not all fall away at once, but gradually ; but it was at this time that defection on a large scale began.

**Page 211. 2. causa maxima** : it is not unlikely that Varro, like Flaminius, has been made a scapegoat for the errors of the government. It is altogether probable that the senate and people

had resolved to fight a pitched battle and end a situation that was felt to be no longer tolerable. The extraordinary preparations and this subsequent action of the senate support this view. After the event it was easy, and soon became traditional, to lay the blame on the plebeian consul.

5. *nihil recusandum supplicii foret*: 'there is no extreme of punishment that he would not have had to bear;' the Carthaginians were in the habit of crucifying generals who were unsuccessful.

*quiritibus*  
*de. do. de. de.*

*quiritibus*  
*quiritare*  
*quiritare*  
*quiritare*  
*quiritare*  
*quiritare*  
*quiritare*

famous for  
Romulus & Numa

Numa 44 yrs longest peace

Tulla - wars & impiety.

Anus peaceful & warlike.

Tarquinius Priscus administrator

Servius Tullius instituted the senate & law giver

Tarquinius - piety & cruelty.

2nd century ad

1st century ad

ubi = with a relative used as a  
proposition thus changing verb to  
subj.

quippe ubi takes construction  
cum

sooner than expectation  
of any -

---

Missi sunt orantes pacem - -

" " ut pacem orarent

" " ad " orandum

" " qu " orarent

" " [pacis orandae]

" " pacis causa orandi

" " pacem orandi causa

" " oratione

" " oratione

[ " " ad " orandum ]

Chap 34 1-22  
25

history. definite has room  
& access.

To avoid fine, this book should be returned on  
or before the date last stamped below

10M-8-40

for  
pro  
do  
in

quarry

the

H

1

Purchase

all. after a comparative  
look up subj. Cause of characteristic



